THE EFFECTS OF SELECTED ECOLOGICAL FACTORS UPON URBAN RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Almost forty years have passed since H. Paul Douglass began his pioneering work in the sociological study of the urban church. It was in the early 1920's that he ventured a national study of more than a thousand urban churches.[1] To conduct the field research and to provide an analysis, Douglass began the formulation of a methodology for classifying churches on the basis of the adaptation of their programs to the urban area. Throughout the work he emphasized that this was a "first book" and was to be judged as such. Early in his study he discussed the relationship of the urban church to its environment:

> As already indicated those who originally advised upon the method of this study believed that there existed a valid classification of city churches according to environment. This view is shown to be mistaken. Not all or any considerable fraction of the churches 'located' in any given environment are alike, and no sufficient grounds can be found for classifying them by environment. Frequently the environment of a church's physical plant has no relation to its functional purposes. A church is located far more by the homes and places of work of its people than by the position of its plant. Its purposes have often little connection with the immediate environment of its building, and there is

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[1] H. Paul Douglass, 1000 City Churches: Phases of Adaptation to Urban Environment (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1926).

> no objective evidence that all kinds of churches should invariably or even ordinarily 'adapt' themselves to environment so defined.[2] (Italics mine.)

During the same period, however, ecological studies have gained greater sophistication and precision in describing and analyzing the urban community. Foremost among these have been the social area analyses of Eshref Shevky and his associates.[3] They have advanced a system for analyzing census tract populations within a framework of a small number of measures which they have demonstrated to have a high theoretical significance. Beginning within the broad frame of ecological theory as developed in the detailed studies of Chicago, Shevky took into account the critiques which had been leveled against these early studies. Most ecologists would agree that while there frequently were flashes of brilliant insight, the pioneer studies were overly sweeping in their conclusions, lacking the degree of precision required today. They have advanced their typology as a suitable framework for comparative and

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[2] Ibid., p. xvi.

[3] Eshref Shevky and Marilyn Williams, The Social Areas of Los Angeles: Analysis and Typology (Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949).

Eshref Shevky and Wendell Bell, Social Area Analysis: Theory, Illustrative Application, and Computational Procedures (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955).

Robert C. Tryon, Identification of Social Areas by Cluster Analysis (Berkley: University of California Press, 1955).

successional studies.[4] Significant for our investigation is Shevky's comment:

> In the scientific study of society, attention has come to be focused more and more on structural problems, on problems of institutional organization and function, and on the interrelationships of these with human behavior. In the analysis of these problems, comparative knowledge has become indispensable.[5] (Italics mine.)

A. Purpose of the Study

The conflict between these two tentative conclusions has formed the initial inquiry for this investigation. On the programmatic level, the rather uncritical acceptance of a strong ecological interpretation of parish differences in a host of denominational parish studies has prompted the fundamental question. On the level of theory, we shall proceed from the organizational theory of institutions as formulated by Malinowski.[6] While we shall conduct this investigation among religious institutions, we are equally concerned about the broader implications of the organizational structure of institutions in their ecological setting.

We are interested, however, in the implications of the study for the broad area of religious sociology

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[4]Wendell Bell, "The Social Areas of the San Francisco Bay Region," American Sociological Review, Vol. XVIII, No. 1 (1953), pp. 39-47.

[5]Shevky and Williams, op. cit., p. 1.

[6]Bronislaw Malinowski, A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944).

as well. Recent years have seen a tremendous revival of interest in the sociology of religion.[7] Fichter's emphasis is correct when he insists that "Sociology is a secular science which studies religious groups and institutions with the same methodological tools with which it studies familial, recreational, economic, and other groups and institutions."[8] It is, then, in view of the fact that religion represents one of the basic institutions in any urban community that it is of interest to the sociologist. In his chapter on "Urban Sociology" in the recent symposium on Contemporary Sociology, Dr. Mel Ravitz singles out the church and the school as rich potential areas of sociological investigation in areas of the city experiencing inter-racial contact:

> Another institutional agency undergoing pressure at the moment is the church of these changing neighborhoods, especially the Protestant denominations. Many of these churches are facing the issue whether to stay and strive to serve the residents of the neighborhood, many of whom are now

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[7]Chester L. Hunt, "The Sociology of Religion," Contemporary Sociology. Edited by Joseph S. Roucek, (New York: Philosophical Library, 1958), pp. 539-56.

Joacim Wach, Sociology of Religion, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944).

Milton Yinger, Religion, Society and the Individual, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957).

Will Herberg, Protestant-Catholic-Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology, (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1955).

[8]Joseph H. Fichter, Social Relations in the Urban Parish, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 1-2.

> Negroes, or whether to move away to the fringes or suburbs in order to try to catch up with members of their congregations who have moved, some because of racial prejudice.[9]

Even more clearly Blaine Mercer calls for the study of religious institutions. In his chapter on religion as one of the basic institutions of The American Community, he comments: "The sociology of religion is an important branch of the field of sociology, and religion and religious institutions are fit and proper subjects for analysis by the community researcher."[10]

We propose to investigate the influence of the change of selected socio-economic factors upon the function of religious institutions in urban areas. In particular we shall seek to describe the relationship between the economic status, the family status, and the ethnic status of the ecological area and the organization and function of an institution located in the community. Our basic hypothesis is:

> The decrease in the social rank of a neighborhood, accompanied by an increase in its degree of urbanization and segregation, will have a dysfunctional effect upon a local institution (which is not discharging its institutionally accepted goals in relation to its neighborhood).

The hypothesis assumes a "functional" relationship between an institution and its community. The term

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[9]Mel J. Ravitz, "Urban Sociology," Roucek, op. cit., p. 331.

[10]Blaine E. Mercer, The American Community, (New York: Random House, 1956), p. 222.

is used in the sense that Merton suggests in his paradigm for functional analysis in sociology: "Functions are those observed consequences which make for the adaptation or adjustment of a given system; and dysfunctions, those observed consequences which lessen the adaptation or adjustment of the system."[11] In his paradigm he grants that group organizations and social structures are items to which functions may be imputed. We are positing a reciprocal relationship, or perhaps more accurately what Merton calls "mutually dependent variations."[12] The life of a given institution is dependent upon certain factors in its environment for the maintenance of its existence.[13] Our hypothesis suggests that where the described changes take place, this relationship will be changed radically and that this in turn will have a negative effect upon the institution.

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[11]Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure: Toward the Codification of Theory and Research, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1949), p. 50.

[12]Ibid., p. 23.

[13]Note the way in which the concept of function is used among anthropologists. For example, Malinowski states that functional analysis "aims at the explanation of anthropological facts at all levels of development by their function, by the part which they play within the integral system of culture, by the manner in which they are related to each other within the system . . ." Quoted by Merton, op. cit., p. 24.

The various concepts in the hypothesis were defined and operationalized as follows:

1. Social Rank was measured by two indices: occupation, specifically the number of white collar workers per thousand population; and education, the number of people twenty-five years of age or over with a formal education beyond the grade school level.

2. Urbanization was measured by three factors: the fertility ratio, specifically the number of children under five years of age per thousand women from fifteen to forty-four years of age; secondly, the number of women fourteen years of age or over not in the labor force per thousand women; and thirdly, the number of single-family dwelling units per one thousand dwelling units.

3. Segregation was measured by the percentage of non-whites (Negro and other races in the Census material) compared to the total population in a given tract.

4. Institutionally Accepted Goals were measured by the construction of an index which measured the rate of recruitment membership distribution both residentially and occupationally, and in age-sex distribution; ritual participation; non-ritual participation; internal administration; and an in mundum index which sought to determine the relation of the religious institution in the broader community.[14]

By design this study will fall between the strictly parish type study and the broad ecological analysis. On the one hand, we have parish studies such as Fichter's Southern Parish[15] and Schuyler's

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[14]For a different use of the term in mundum, Cf. Thomas Luckman, A Comparative Study of Four Protestant Parishes in Germany, (Unpublished manuscript), p. 5ff.

[15]Joseph H. Fichter, Southern Parish: Dynamics of a City Church, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951).

analysis of Northern Parish.[16] These studies have focused intensively upon the individual parish. On a second level of analysis is Luckman's A Comparative Study of Four Protestant Parishes in Germany.[17] Building upon Fichter's basic typology, Luckman describes in some detail a profile of four parishes located in different types of areas and then attempts a comparison of the profile groups. A third level of size of analysis is provided in the current Church Effectiveness Studies sponsored by the National Council of Churches of Christ.[18] The basic research was carried out by individual denominations using several patterns of standardized schedules. At the time of this writing, further secondary analysis is being carried on. Finally, on the largest scale of analysis, we have studies of the Douglass and Sanderson type.[19]

In the other direction we have the ecological studies of Shevky and his associates. Recently Farber

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[16]Joseph B. Schuyler, "Potential Elements of Organization and Disorganization in the Parish -- As Seen in Northern Parish," The American Catholic Sociological Review, Vol. XVIII, No. 2 (1957), pp. 98-112.

[17]Luckman, op. cit.

[18]The Bureau of Research and Survey, The National Council of Churches of Christ, "A Frame of Reference for the Study of the Effective City Church," (Mimeographed).

[19]H. Paul Douglass, The St. Louis Church Survey: A Religious Investigation with a Social Background, (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1924).

and Osoinach offered a critique of the Shevky index and have proposed another in which dimensionality is regarded from a Guttman scale perspective rather than one of factor analysis.[20] The studies of Hawley and Duncan, as well as their critiques of the Shevky index, also must be seriously considered.[21]

In general, ecological studies have attempted to describe the sub-groups located within a larger metropolitan population. In this study we shall apply an ecological base to the study of urban institutions rather than populations. An obvious problem is confronted because many churches draw their constituency from areas quite different from that in which the church building is located. By making this application we are making the following assumptions. The institution draws a proportion of people from the immediate area. In some cases virtually the entire membership comes from within the immediate community. In using social characteristics from the census tracts, we shall permit the leadership of the church to define their own service boundaries. Secondly, we assume that the church building both contributes to and partakes of the general

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[20]Bernard Farber and John C. Osoinach, "An Index of Socio-Economic Rank of Census Tracts in Urban Areas," American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, No. 5 (1959), pp. 630-40.

[21]Amos Hawley and Otis D. Duncan, "Social Area Analysis: A Critical Appraisal," Land Economics, No. 33 (November, 1957), pp. 337-45.

character of the neighborhood. Obviously this does not imply that in a slum area, for example, the church building must be dilapidated. But it seems axiomatic that in most cases the building will be of the same general age as its neighborhood and usually will reflect its financial resources. Even in the rare case of a new church building being erected at great cost in a transition area, the background of the immediate area still will provide the setting against which the church will be viewed. Thirdly, where members do come into the church's neighborhood from the outside in order to worship, these people must voluntarily associate themselves with this particular church for a special reason. In many cases they have recently moved from the neighborhood, yet still retain their membership. In other cases this will have been the church of their family and thus they retain a special loyalty. In a few rare instances the person may be making a conscious commitment to the institution, for example, the few white families who deliberately joined a predominantly Negro church in another area in order to identify with them and lend their support.

This study, then, is exploratory. At this stage, insufficient research has been carried out to permit us to set down detailed hypotheses. Thus we shall proceed inductively, attempting to draw meaningful relationships from the data itself. Secondly, however,

we shall use a methodological framework which we believe will yield a valid and significant classification of churches according to a basically ecological pattern. We shall remain critical of the proposed methodological indices in order to define the exact areas in which an ecological interpretation is most significant. A blanket ecological interpretation can not be given. We are attempting to ask at what specific points it is a valid and useful answer for religious institutions.

B. Scope of the Study

The study will concern itself with seventeen congregations affiliated with The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod and located in the metropolitan area of St. Louis. The number seventeen is rather arbitrary. The desire was to select a sufficiently large number of churches so that any individual peculiarity of neighborhood, pastor or congregation would be minimized. A sufficiently small number was desired, however, so that a fairly intensive analysis of the total congregational program would be possible. Since it was hoped that at least four cases would be located in the four quadrants of the adapted Shevky-Williams index,[22] sixteen churches became a minimal number. In placing the churches on the social area grid, we

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[22]For the original index cf. Shevky and Williams, op. cit., pp. 64-65.

found that five of the proposed churches fell into Quadrant A. Therefore another church was added to expand Quadrant D to its full complement of four churches.

The churches were selected primarily according to their position on the social area grid. This is to say, they were selected in order to fill as many combinations of social rank and urbanization as possible. We consciously tried to avoid the difficulty which plagued the researchers in the Urban Effectiveness Studies in not selecting churches which were considered particularly "effective" according to some amorphous standard. The seventeen churches finally selected include those generally judged by local pastors and ecclesiastical leaders to be among the "stronger" and "weaker" congregations in the area. It was hoped that the other features would randomize. This seems to have occurred. Thus, for example, the active communicant membership among the seventeen individual churches ranged from 163 to 1408 members, with an average of 600 members. The churches were distributed according to size as shown in Table 1.

Similarly, the ages of the congregations varied. The oldest Lutheran Church in the city, founded in 1839, was included as well as a suburban church founded in 1946. Exactly half of the churches were founded prior to the turn of the century. Since only three were

founded in 1930 or later, it is possible that we have a slight bias toward the older established church. Because of the age of St. Louis City, only three of the thirty-three Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod congregations were established after 1930. In the county, however, eighteen of the thirty-eight churches (47 per cent) were established after 1930.

TABLE 1

SURVEY CHURCHES DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP SIZE[23]

Active Members	Number of Churches
1-250	3
251-500	6
501-800	4
801-1100	2
Over 1100	2

There was variation in racial composition. The majority of the churches were white. One was a predominantly Negro congregation. Approximately one-third of the churches were desegregated, serving other races either in their church or school. As we shall note later, three of the churches were located in areas characterized by a heavy concentration of non-whites.

By selecting the churches entirely on the basis of ecology, we had hoped that differences among the pastors also would be randomized. We discovered that we had included a fairly normal spread in the age of

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[23]Unless otherwise indicated, all congregational data is as of December 31, 1958.

pastors, in period of service, in educational level, and in their period of residence in St. Louis. In general, the men varied from two who were at their first charge for only a few years after seminary graduation to a sixty-three year-old pastor who has spent his entire ministry at one St. Louis church.

As indicated, all of the churches are members of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. The churches belong to Becker's category of the ecclesia,[24] that is, organizations which are highly crystallized in structure, concerned with their doctrinal formulation, served by an educated and ordained clergy, and stress indoctrination through an educational system. The church body is conservative, established historically in the St. Louis area, and numerically strong. It places strong emphasis upon education, and congregations are encouraged to conduct Christian day schools.

At the same time, it must be acknowledged that the denomination is characterized by a number of factors which Pope lists as marks of the sect, in contrast to the ecclesia.[25] The group is proud of its continued loyalty to the Bible as the source and norm of all faith; it is strongly evangelistic in its outreach to the non-churched in the community; it still refuses full

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[24]Leopold von Wiese and Howard Becker, Systematic Sociology, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1932), pp. 624-28.

[25]Liston Pope, Millhands and Preachers (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942), pp. 117-24.

participation in Protestant councils of churches because of the "lack of purity" of the doctrine of these other denominations. Historically the church began with a German ethnic group in the St. Louis area. Although it now draws members from virtually every ethnic group, and German services have been discontinued in all but one or two of the St. Louis metropolitan churches, the church remains proud of its German heritage. This is apparent formally in its hymnody, for example, and informally in some continuing customs.

Both the strong confessional character and the ethnic background have created patterns of church membership which are different from a Protestant church with a lesser concern for doctrine and an English background. Some Lutheran city planners, for example, would insist that one can not characterize a Lutheran congregation as a "neighborhood" church in the customary Protestant pattern. This school of thought would suggest that a smaller number of such confessional churches can serve a larger area because they selectively attract members who are drawn by these special characteristics. At the same time, The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod in recent years has made a conscious attempt through radio, television, public relations, and evangelism programs to reach the non-churched community outside its membership. Any further generalizations drawn about Protestant churches, however, must take into consideration the strongly confessional character of the churches in the study.

C. Methodology

Social Area Analysis. Continued urban growth, both in population and in area, has increased the need for devices by which the populations and institutions of a city can be classified meaningfully. The zones of Burgess' concentric circle theory provided a rough index for classification. But the need continued for a method of ranking peoples and communities with greater precision. Of the various indices proposed, one of the most useful and widely used is the method of social area analysis originally set forth by Shevky and Williams.[26]

Basic to their typology is the idea of social position. Applying the concept to populations rather than to individuals, they have attempted to sort out urban population subgroups on the basis of social rank, degree of urbanization, and the proportion of ethnic groups within the population, which they termed the degree of segregation. Although we shall use their index as a "given" in this study, it remains necessary that we comprehend the rationale for the construction of their typology.

They define "social rank" as "the differential standing of persons or groups in a system of social positions."[27] Social patterns evolve in every society

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[26]For the most lucid explanation and defense of this typology as an analytic tool, cf. Shevky and Bell, op. cit., pp. 3-22.

[27]Shevky and Williams, op. cit., p. 37.

as a guide for the individual members of the society in directing their behavior toward other persons. Rank is the concept which describes the place occupied by the individual or group. For them the concept is used without the connotation of social class. Occupation, income and education are used in their index as the chief indicators of social rank. Utilizing the suggestion made by Curtis and Avesing[28] as they adopted the index to the St. Louis metropolitan area, occupation and education were the two factors used in the measurement of social rank. Since income usually is correlated with occupation and frequently is dependent upon education, the index should continue to measure the same dimension. A lower social rank, then, within this study will indicate a census tract which contains a higher proportion of craftsmen, operatives and laborers, together with persons over twenty-five years of age with eight years of schooling or less.

Initially the fertility ratio and the proportion of women in the labor force appears to be a strange index for urbanization. It was, however, as Shevky plotted the residential distribution of the occupation groups that another fact became obvious:

> . . . the employed persons thus shown to be residentially differentiated exhibit great differences of another sort. These differences are sharply

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[28]Jack Curtis, Frank Avesing and Ignatius Klosek, "Urban Parishes as Social Areas," The American Catholic Sociological Review, Vol. XVIII, No. 4 (1957), pp. 319-25.

> revealed in the age and sex compositions of the populations involved. The working population in one segment is largely masculine and heavily weighted in favor of children and younger age-groups. The working population in the other segment, if not preponderantly feminine, is heavily weighted with younger women in paid employment, a larger proportion of persons in working ages, and fewer children.[29]

Thus such factors as fertility are not considered as isolated variables, but as part of a complex of interdependent variables. A composite measure of urbanization arises: the ratio of children to women is inversely related to urbanization; the proportion of women in paid occupations is directly related to urbanization; the proportion of dwellings which are single-family units is inversely related to urbanization. Shevky points out that he included the single-family dwellings not because of the positive effect of greater stability of residence or the lower density of population; rather, as he conceptualized it, "the declining proportion of the single-family dwelling unit is a rough measure of changes taking place in the functions of the household. Where the single-family unit is least numerous, there is likely to be the greatest dependence on outside services for many of the household functions."[30] In this study, as in the Los Angeles Area, low urbanization means higher fertility, fewer women in the labor force, and a greater proportion of single-family dwellings.

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[29] Shevky and Williams, op. cit., p. 41.

[30] Ibid., pp. 42-43.

Shevky and Williams subtitle their discussion of segregation, "The Group Phenomenon of Isolation." In view of popular usage, the term "segregation" perhaps is not too happily chosen. Bell, for example, another of the Shevky associates, prefers the alternative term, "ethnic status."[31] Because of the volume of literature which has employed the term "segregation" in this specialized sense, we shall retain it in our analysis. The concept begins with the recognition of the heterogeneity which characterizes the urban area. An ideal type of the urban dweller pictures him as one who no longer identifies primarily with relatives or family; his needs are met by the voluntary associations. It is apparent that isolation results when peoples of diverse origins, backgrounds and interests live in the same area. Shevky and Williams summarize the point:

> Isolation in urban areas is nearly always reflected in variations in residential distributions of differing groups, and since this is so, measures of concentration and dispersion of distinguishable groups may be used to determine degrees of isolation.[32]

Since we have questioned the advisability of using the word "segregation" to describe this isolation, we should add that Shevky does make a distinction between isolation and segregation. "Segregation is the position of a group beyond a certain critical point of isolation, and is a tangible expression of systematic discrimination."[33]

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[31] Bell, op. cit., p. 45.

[32] Shevky and Williams, op. cit., p. 49.

[33] Ibid.

The index is derived by adding the number of persons designated "Negro and Other Races," and dividing that sum by the total population in each tract, multiplying the quotient by one hundred.[34]

The social area index is constructed from these three indices. The tracts are divided into four social areas:

1. Social Rank Index Scores of 0-24
2. Social Rank Index Scores of 25-49
3. Social Rank Index Scores of 50-74
4. Social Rank Index Scores of 75-100

The urbanization scores are divided with the same breakdown, moving from "A" with an index score of 24 or under to "D" with a score of 75-100. The "S" or segregation index is indicated by adding an "S" to the designation of the cell.

Placing the preceding material on a grid, one has sixteen cells on which the various combinations of urbanization and social rank can be placed. For this study we then took one additional step. Since sixteen individual cells provide too many categories to set up a workable typology, we divided the social area grid into four quadrants. Those churches falling into the quadrant on the lower right-hand corner, representing areas of low urbanization and the highest social rank,

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[34]The original Shevky formula is $\frac{\sum(P_3N)}{T}$

P_3=the percentage of the population in each census tract represented by Negroes, Orientals, Russians, Mexicans and Italians.
N =the number of a particular group in each census tract.
T =the total number of representatives of the particular group in Los Angeles County.
Cf. Shevky and Williams, op. cit., p. 54.

we designated as "Type A"; those with high social rank but increased urbanization, "Type B"; those with low social rank and low urbanization as "Type C"; and those in areas with both low social rank and highest urbanization we designated as "Type D."

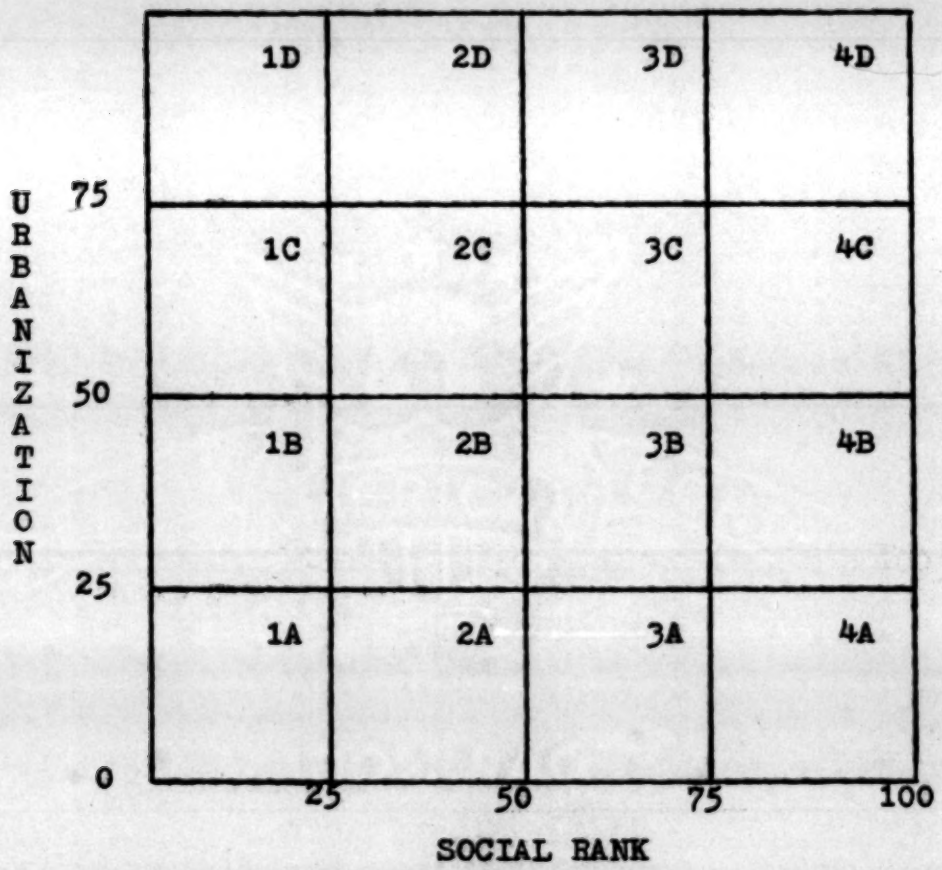


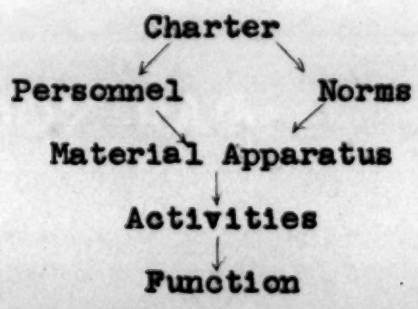
Figure 1.--The Social Area Grid as Adapted for the Classification of Institutions.

Institutional Organization. We have an analytical tool for measuring the comparative areas in which the institutions are located. Now we need a device by which the institutions themselves can be measured systematically. It became apparent that the organization of any institution, in this case a

religious institution, must be viewed as an open system. This means that any analysis must proceed on two fronts simultaneously: the structure and function of the system relates to other systems outside itself. In his study of the "Hospital as an Organization," Wessen suggests a corollary to this observation:

> At the level of organizational analysis, this means that an organization must be looked at from the point of view of its internal structure and its relation to other organizations. We may further assume that as is the case with all open systems, there will be a tendency for internal structure and external relationships to stand in a relation of mutual modification one to the other.[35]

Malinowski's theory of organized behavior, although stated in terms of anthropological field work, is comprehensive enough to serve as a model for our analysis. He presents six "concrete isolates" of an organization in a diagrammatic form:



The "charter" of any organization defines the system of values for which the organization was originally created and for which individuals now enter the organization. The "personnel" refers to the group of people

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[35]Albert Wessen, "A Paradigm for Studying the Hospital as an Organization" (Unpublished manuscript, St. Louis, 1959), p. 1.

as it is "organized on definite principles of authority, division of functions, and distribution of privileges and duties."[36] The "norms" or rules of an institution include the skills, habits, legal norms, and ethical commands accepted by the group. The "material apparatus" refers to the specific ways in which the institution is anchored in the material culture: its wealth, instruments, building and the like. Summarizing thus far, Malinowski says:

> Organized on the charter, acting through their social and organized cooperation, following the rules of their specific occupation, using the material apparatus at their disposal, the group engages in the activities for which they have organized.[37]

The "activities" refer to the actual behavior which is found in the organization; while the norms set forth the ideal pattern, the activities describe the actual performance. Finally the integral result of the organized activities is interpreted as the "function" of the institution; it must be distinguished from the charter which set forth the original purpose for organizing.

For our purposes this paradigm must be slightly adapted and enlarged. Malinowski's concept of character can stand, although it will be of less analytical aid because all of the religious institutions studied

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[36] Malinowski, op. cit., p. 52.

[37] Ibid., p. 53.

present a rather standardized formal constitution and articulate similar goals for their institutions. As differences emerge, however, it will serve as a reminder to seek a possibly divergent set of values in the mind of the leadership of the group.

The concept of "personnel" must be radically expanded in order to answer the questions which we are posing. For a voluntary association to continue, its life is dependent upon continued recruitment. Therefore one of the six major areas of investigation will concern itself with how the religious institution in a given ecological setting recruits new adherents. Secondly, we are desirous of knowing how these people resemble one another and the communities from which they are drawn. In view of our initial hypothesis, we also must determine to what extent the membership represents the immediate ecological area in which the institution is located. Therefore the second major section of inquiry will investigate the membership of the institution.

By definition of their denominational affiliation, the accepted "norms" of the seventeen churches are virtually the same. As will be the case with the charter, the investigation should remain sensitive to possible differences which are not anticipated in the design.

The concept of material apparatus will be useful as conceived in the Malinowski paradigm. One of

the most apparent symbols of the religious institution which a community sees is its church building. The size and style of the building, its location in terms of main thoroughfares, its functional arrangements for worship, study and fellowship, as well as its interior equipment must be considered.

Two of our major categories fall into Malinowski's category of "activities." For a religious institution it seemed best for the sake of analysis to attempt a separation between ritual and non-ritual participation. Douglass works with no such distinction. By grouping "Church Organizations and Activities," he was able to present the frequency with which any one of thirty-three individual activities was found. The four which formed almost the irreducible minimum were, in the order of their frequency: (1) Preaching and Sunday School, (2) Ladies' Aid or Guild, (3) Women's Missionary Society, (4) Young People's Society. Perhaps Douglass interpreted all of the thirty-three activities, from preaching to civics classes, on one scale. If this is valid for a "denominational" type of religious organization, it does not appear valid for the ecclesia-type church. It is not a question of degree of activity, so that the urban church is seen as being "more active" than a rural church. It concerns the kind of activity. Churches such as those under study which place a premium in their norms upon

the administration and reception of preaching and the sacraments, who define their objectives in terms of the saving of souls and the nurturing of Christians through the "means of grace" obviously must interpret a basketball league in a radically different light from "divine services." Therefore we shall measure the degree of participation of the membership of the institutions in the ritual and the non-ritual areas separately.[38]

Another level of differentiation also becomes necessary. It is the difference between what we might term proximate goals (for example, the raising of the budget), primary goals (attendance at worship), and ultimate goals (the salvation of souls). Undoubtedly one can place these concepts into the Malinowski framework. Since we have indicated how we shall interpret the first five of his concepts in our analysis, it may be best to consider these last two major areas independently. It is clear that they are implicit in his paradigm.

The first is <u>internal administration</u>. It is logically related to both personnel and activities. In our terminology it represents a proximate goal. It involves the activating of lay leadership, for example, in carrying out the internal management of the

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[38]In Douglass' list of activities, only "preaching" would fall into our category of "ritual"; the remaining thirty-two activities are "non-ritual." Note also Luckman's use of the two terms. Luckman, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 18-28.

organization. The financial area would be included in this category. The final area we shall call the in mundum relationship. It will refer to the relationship of this institution to other institutions in the community.

Now that we have indicated the six areas to be measured, we must ask how they might be operationalized in some type of index or profile:

1. Recruitment. In view of our original ecologically oriented hypothesis, we shall hypothesize that as a religious institution is located in an area of lower social rank and higher urbanization, fewer people who already hold membership in the denomination and thus are affiliated with the institution in its broader geographic definition will apply for membership in the local organization. This is to say, such churches will be provided with far fewer "ready-made" members than religious institutions in more favored locales. We shall measure this through what we shall call the "mission gain" index. It will be figured by computing the average adult membership gain for the two years prior to the study, and dividing by the average communicant membership for the same period. This will give us a pure figure by which the congregations of varying size can be compared without penalizing the larger organizations. Recruitment will be negatively correlated with the mission gain index.

We shall use a second measure of recruitment, the "gross gain" index. We shall hypothesize that as an area declines in social rank and increases in its degree of urbanization, the total number of members recruited from all sources--by transfers, adult confirmations, and child confirmations--will decrease. This will be computed by determining the average gross gain for the two years prior to the study and dividing by the average number of communicant members during the same period. Recruitment will be positively correlated with the gross gain index.

2. Membership. We shall use three measures in an attempt to compare the membership composition of the four types of institutions. The first is the percentage of communicant members who live within a one-half mile radius of the church building. We hypothesize that in the areas of greater density, a larger proportion of the people will live close to the church. One would suspect that their interest in and concern with the church and its immediate neighborhood would be more intense since their daily life also is bound to this neighborhood. Secondly, in a purely descriptive fashion we shall compare the institutions on the basis of the proportion of white-collar workers within the group. Because of the definition of the ecological areas, the churches in the areas of higher social rank naturally will have a higher proportion of white-collar

workers. Thirdly, one would suspect that the churches in the areas of lower social rank in recruiting a smaller number of new members would have an aging membership. Since an older population will have a greater percentage of women in it, we shall test for this factor by determining the proportion of women to men in the four institutional areas. We would expect that the proportion of women will increase as one moves from Type A through Type D.

3. Ritual Participation. Two measures were used to determine ritual participation. The first focused upon attendance at Sunday morning worship services, the chief services of the week. Although many churches compute their "attendance figure" on the basis of their communicant membership, we shall use the ratio of actual Sunday morning attendance to the total baptized membership. The resulting figure presents a more accurate picture in that all members, even children not yet confirmed, are expected to attend worship services. On the other hand, the figure is lower than it might be because of the large proportion of children who attend Sunday School classes on Sunday morning in lieu of the formal worship service. This figure also is computed on the basis of attendance during the two years prior to the study.

The other check on ritual participation utilized the number of times each communicant partook of

Holy Communion. For Lutheran Churches Holy Communion is a sacrament through which Christ presents His Body and Blood in the elements of the bread and wine for the forgiveness of sins and the strengthening of faith.[39] In recent years there has been a movement afoot to increase the number of times in which the congregation celebrates Communion. In the rural past Communion often was celebrated only once each quarter. In recent decades the custom developed to celebrate once a month and on special festival days. Within the last several years, many congregations have added additional Sunday celebrations. In some cases churches celebrate twice a month, alternating between the early and late services. In a few cases Holy Communion now is celebrated every Sunday in one of the services. A methodological problem revolved about the most objective fashion of presenting the "rate" of reception. We debated the relative merits of simply computing the average rate of reception per communicant over the two-year period over against computing this in the light of the total number of celebrations per year. This latter method seemed to unduly penalize the churches which gave evidence of being more alert initially in instituting a greater number of celebrations. Finally, then, we have

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[39]"Of the Lord's Supper," Article VII, The Formula of Concord, The Triglot Concordia: The Symbolical Books of The Evangelical Lutheran Church (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921), pp. 807-17.

used the average rate of reception per communicant member over the years 1957 and 1958. Both the attendance index and the communion index will be positively correlated with ritual participation.

4. Non-Ritual Participation. Although ritual participation is primary in the life of a Lutheran congregation, the non-ritual life of the church also is important. In our frame of reference we shall include here the functions of the societies and organizations of the congregation; but we shall exclude the committees and boards which form a part of the official structure of the church. Non-ritual participation, then, will include all of the non-administrative regular group meetings. Noting the number of organizations and societies sponsored by each congregation, we shall compute the ratio of organizational members over against the total communicant membership. This will present a statistical average for the total congregation which, of course, may not be accurate in terms of the individual communicant. Thus while one member may be active in three organizations, several others may take no part. We shall deal with participation on the basis of gross membership. We also caution the reader to note that the figure states membership, not actual attendance. We again hypothesize that to the extent that the basic ecological theory holds true, we shall find a decreased rate of participation as we move toward the areas of lower social rank and higher urbanization.

As indicated, it was debatable as to whether it would be advisable to include the rate of Sunday School attendance under ritual participation. Douglass actually linked church attendance and Sunday School attendance in one category. We have attempted to use the figure to plumb to some extent the level of educational participation in the congregation. Although this is a key area of congregational work, it has been difficult to find accurate measures. Since not all of the congregations conduct parish schools, this possibility also had to be rejected. Virtually all of the church-related societies have some type of educational or informational program. This varies, however, from intensive study to a perfunctory "topic" which is hastened through. The Sunday School seemed to be the one universal. We have used the average attendance over the two years of the study.

5. Internal Administration. Initially it seemed that we would desire to investigate the quantity and quality of leadership on both pastoral and lay levels. Three checks were envisioned. First, it appeared that the percentage of lay leadership would be a useful measure. This was discarded because of the difficulty in holding constant a definition of "lay leader" from one congregation to the next. It then became apparent that we were working with simply another index of participation. On the one hand, every congregation had relatively the same number of key officers,

regardless of the size of the congregation. When we included all leaders--those from the organizations as well--we discovered that we were measuring once again the non-ritual participation. The greater the number of organizations, the greater the number of leaders. This measure was then discarded.

The second check on financial contributions proved more helpful. This was computed on the basis of the average communicant gift for the year 1958. Initially it seemed that we could get a further check on this dimension by noting the percentage of the congregation which pledged to the annual budget. While this looked promising, we discovered that half of the congregations did not use a system of pledges or conduct a financial canvass for the year of the study.

As a second check on internal administration, we computed the percentage of the total giving which was allocated to benevolences. It seemed that this would provide a measure of the efficiency of the administration. Considering the total number of financial gifts and the local "overhead" expenses, the proportion which the leadership would be able to give to other agencies seemed to measure their efficiency. In computing "benevolence," we subtracted the amount which the church gave to the denominational district and national synod, since this figure normally is set on the basis of communicant membership. This still may have played a part to some extent in the case of benevolences since some

of these gifts likewise are figured on the communicant membership basis. This figure proved to be less effective than the others.

6. In Mundum. Finally we asked how this institution related to other institutions in the community: To what extent was the church consciously attempting to serve the community? To what extent was it actively referring people to other agencies for their specialized services? In checking the types of contacts which the churches reported in these two areas, we compiled a list of fifty different kinds of service or community contacts. We then counted the number reported by the individual church and multiplied by two. Thus a church which conducted every type of community service program available (practically impossible) would score 100.

It has been axiomatic in urban church studies that as a church neighborhood declines, a growing percentage of the leadership lives at a greater distance from the church building. We thus thought that a second index in this area would be the percentage of lay leaders who lived within one mile of the church. Unfortunately this check had to be discarded. A secondary factor was operating. A few of the churches--not of any one ecological type--contained heavy concentrations of their members in their immediate neighborhood. The majority of the others may have had a similar pattern, but the whole residential pattern was more open, that is, spread over a larger geographic region.

Data Gathering. As chairman of a local denominational mission committee, the writer approached the eighty churches of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod in the St. Louis metropolitan area in the Spring of 1958 with the possibility of conducting a regional self-study. A total of fifty-seven congregations responded favorably. A manual for the study was used which had developed over the past twenty years. Gathered originally from Presbyterian churches and other sources, it was compiled by Dr. Richard Sommerfeld under the auspices of the Board for Missions in North and South America of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod.

Local congregational committees were gathered in two large training sessions, at which time instructions were given on the proper procedures to be followed in the data gathering. These sessions were held in the early Fall of 1958. The data were gathered by the churches during the early Spring of 1959.

In this phase of the study, then, we made a secondary analysis on the basis of the data submitted by seventeen churches drawn from the participating congregations. In addition, an intensive interview was held with each of the pastors in order to obtain qualitative material, both to guide our interpretation of the quantitative material and to enrich the interpretative phase. The interviews averaged two hours in

length and covered the following major areas: (1) a general evaluation of the church's effectiveness, (2) leadership in the church, (3) the program of the church, (4) membership, (5) the church and the community, (6) the minister's background, personality, and interests.

The interviews were conducted by two senior theological students trained by the writer. The interviews were tape-recorded. The salient ideas, in turn, were written on the schedule forms. The writer personally listened to the tapes and checked these against the written interview reports.

Because of the nature of the investigation as an exploratory study, it is hoped that much of the value will lie in this qualitative material which is not easily quantifiable. For it became apparent early in the study that along with the function of the ecological area, the personality of the pastor emerged as the second major pole which controlled the destiny of the local religious institution. We shall attempt to relate enough of the interview material to permit the reader to evaluate this second dimension.

CHAPTER II

THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

We are undertaking an analysis of seventeen urban churches in an effort to ascertain to what extent their ecological positions determine their effectiveness in carrying out their stated goals. Specifically we have hypothesized that a decrease of the social rank of the area and an increase of the rate of urbanization will have a dysfunctional effect upon these religious institutions. In this chapter we shall present a summary of the statistical findings before presenting a sharper profile of the four types of churches.

In Figures 2 and 3 we show the comparative positions which the churches occupied on social area grids for 1950 and 1955. The positions for 1955 were used as the basis of our study. While there was one movement of a church into the Type A category during the five-year period, there was a trend toward an increase of social rank and lower urbanization. Type D churches saw the greatest change. Several of their neighborhoods moved toward higher social rank; others decreased in their rate of urbanization. Thus while only one church fell into Type B in 1950, there were four in this quadrant in 1955. In seven of the seventeen neighborhoods

the changes during the five-year period were great enough to move the neighborhood to a different cell. In still another community the increase of the Negro population was great enough to mark it as a "segregated" tract. By 1955 five of the churches under study were in segregated neighborhoods.

URBANIZATION				
	1D	2D	3D	4D
	1C Bethlehem	2C Redeemer Faith Christ Zion (S) Hope (S) Calvary (S) Bethany	3C Grace Atonement(S)	4C
	1B Our Savior	2B	3B St. John	4B St. Mark St. Matthew
	1A	2A Messiah St. Paul	3A St. Luke	4A

SOCIAL RANK

Figure 2.--Social Areas of Survey Churches[40] in 1950.

[40]In order to preserve anonymity, fictitious names were given to the survey churches.

URBANIZATION	1	2	3	4
D	1D	2D	3D	4D
C	1C Bethlehem	2C Zion (S) Calvary (S) Bethany	3C Faith Hope (S) Grace Atonement(S)	4C
B	1B Our Savior	2B Redeemer Christ	3B	4B St. Mark
A	1A	2A Messiah (S)	3A St. Paul St. Luke	4A St. Matthew St. John

SOCIAL RANK

Figure 3.--Social Areas of Survey Churches in 1955.

In order to obtain an over-all view of the churches under study, Table 2 presents a summary of the churches' social rank, urbanization and segregation; it further indicates the social area into which the churches fell in 1955.

We continue by looking at the results of the six major indices used to portray the organizational life of these institutions.

TABLE 2

SUMMARY OF THE SOCIAL AREAS OF THE SURVEY CHURCHES IN 1955

Church	Social Rank	Urbanization	Segregation	Area
TYPE A				
St. Matthew . .	95	18	4	4A
St. John . . .	68	19	7	4A
St. Mark . . .	93	34	12	4B
St. Paul . . .	54	16	2	3A
St. Luke . . .	73	18	10	3A
TYPE B				
Faith	52	66	2	3C
Hope	54	58	43	3C(S)
Grace	63	52	2	3C
Atonement . . .	51	67	62	3C(S)
TYPE C				
Redeemer . . .	33	50	2	2B
Christ	33	47	2	2B
Messiah	28	14	81	2A(S)
Our Savior . .	16	39	3	1B
TYPE D				
Zion	46	60	97	2C(S)
Calvary	27	51	61	2C(S)
Bethlehem . . .	12	56	2	1C
Bethany	32	53	2	2C

1. Recruitment. In Table 3 we have a summary of the two indices for the measurement of institutional recruitment. The gross gain rate we expected to correlate positively with recruitment, while we anticipated a negative correlation with the mission gain rate. In the gross gain rate it will be noticed that in broad pattern there is a decrease in the averages from Type A to Type D. The pattern is sharp for Types A and D.

The figures are close for Types B and C, however, with Type C churches slightly ahead of Type B in order of rank.

TABLE 3

RECRUITMENT INDEX

Church	Gross Gain	Av.	Rank Order	Mission Gain	Av.	Rank Order
TYPE A						
St. Matthew .	.112			.048		
St. Mark . .	.094			.017		
St. Luke . .	.111	.107	1	.018	.025	4
St. John . .	.113			.023		
St. Paul . .	.104			.019		
TYPE B						
Grace	.093			.028		
Hope	.092	.094	3	.037	.031	3
Faith	.097			.029		
Atonement . .	.095			.029		
TYPE C						
Redeemer . .	.097			.054		
Christ . . .	.073	.098	2	.049	.052	1
Messiah . . .	.146			.071		
Our Savior .	.079			.033		
TYPE D						
Zion	.076			.049		
Calvary . . .	.039	.062	4	.029	.039	2
Bethlehem . .	.044			.027		
Bethany . . .	.089			.051		

The mission gain rate also fell roughly into the expected pattern. Type A churches, which reaped the largest total number of recruits, ranked lowest in the number of people which they recruited from the community as new converts. This pattern continued through the Type B churches. Type C churches ranked first in

recruiting from the outside, with an average of .052. Type D churches followed at some distance with an average of .039. Using the Spearman method of computing rank order correlations, the two indices had a correlation of -.40. These were negatively correlated, but not at a highly significant level.

2. Membership. The three indices for membership are presented in Table 4. The greatest concentration of membership in the immediate vicinity of the church was found in Type C churches; in three of the four cases represented, there was a heavy concentration of members within a half-mile of the church. At the other extreme were the Type A churches with only 13.8 per cent of their membership residing within a half-mile of the church. In comparing the two halves of the scale--the nine churches in the more favored ecological area compared to the remaining eight--one finds that a greater concentration of membership is found in the lower half. However, the pattern is not clear. The Type D figure was lowered considerably by Bethlehem Church, which is located in the area with the lowest social rank of the seventeen neighborhoods represented. Much of its remaining membership has moved to other communities. The rank order correlation between residence and gross gain was -.40; the correlation with mission gains was 1.00.

TABLE 4

MEMBERSHIP INDEX

Church	Live within ½ mile	Av.	Rank Order	Per Cent White Collar	Av.	Rank Order	Per Cent of Women	Av.	Rank Order
TYPE A									
St. Matthew	2.3			87.0			51.7		
St. Mark	8.1			83.3			60.6		
St. Luke	28.7	13.8	4	64.0	71.8	1	53.0	54.3	1
St. John	16.0			66.4			52.8		
St. Paul	14.0			58.2			53.7		
TYPE B									
Grace	23.6			60.0			59.2		
Hope	32.1	30.4	3	46.6	53.0	3	54.5	58.9	3
Faith	42.5			51.3			-		
Atonement	23.5			-			63.1		
TYPE C									
Redeemer	47.5			43.5			56.8		
Christ	23.9	41.5	1	65.0	47.0	4	56.8	55.6	2
Messiah	46.4			33.8			50.4		
Our Savior	48.2			46.4			58.6		
TYPE D									
Zion	43.0			68.4			59.8		
Calvary	35.8	33.5	2	47.6	55.2	2	61.0	59.7	4
Bethlehem	18.0			50.6			60.7		
Bethany	37.7			54.0			57.5		

The heaviest proportion of white-collar workers was found in Type A churches, as expected, with the heavier concentration of blue-collar workers in Type D churches. Types B and C were reversed from the anticipated pattern. Apparently this was caused by Christ Church, which has rather selectively drawn white-collar workers from a greater distance--one-quarter of its membership is drawn from a distance of more than five miles. As noted in Table 9, this factor had a high negative correlation with both mission gain and residential pattern.

The measure testing for the proportion of women in the congregation correlated perfectly with the gross gain index--with Types A and D churches as expected, but with Types B and C reversed from the expected positions. The total spread in this case from Type A through Type D was not great. This factor was negatively correlated with both mission gain and the residential pattern.

3. Ritual Participation. Worship attendance and reception of Holy Communion were the two measures used for ritual participation. As experienced in the other areas, the entire expected pattern did not materialize. Type A churches had the highest ritual participation rate, as expected. But there was not a uniform decline as we moved down the ecological scale. It is significant that in the first ten indices the

Type A churches ranked either in first or last place. This is to say, the item clearly was related either positively or negatively to the churches in the favored areas. The relationship, however, was not as clear for the remaining three areas. Often a rising or falling pattern seemed indicated, but the pattern was not clear. From the beginning one tends to suspect that the other non-ecological factors operating must be faced, or that a more qualified ecological model must be tried. Notice the rank order: 1, 4, 3, 2. Of the factors considered thus far, attendance is correlated in a highly positive fashion only with the proportion of white-collar workers in the institution.

The Holy Communion index, on the other hand, correlated perfectly with both the mission gain and residence indices. It was highly correlated in a negative fashion with the proportion of white-collar workers. In general the lower rate of participation was experienced among the churches in the more favored areas, the higher rates among those in the lower half of the scale.

TABLE 5

RITUAL PARTICIPATION INDEX

Church	Attendance Baptized Membership	Av.	Rank Order	Communion Participation	Av.	Rank Order
TYPE A						
St. Matthew	39.4			3.8		
St. Mark	61.4			4.5		
St. Luke	40.3	46.2	1	4.5	4.1	4
St. John	44.6			4.4		
St. Paul	45.0			3.3		
TYPE B						
Grace	45.2			6.5		
Hope	32.3	39.0	4	2.8	4.7	3
Faith	36.3			5.6		
Atonement	42.4			3.7		
TYPE C						
Redeemer	35.0			6.1		
Christ	54.0	41.1	3	3.5	5.3	1
Messiah	41.6			8.1		
Our Savior	33.7			3.5		
TYPE D						
Zion	33.0			7.2		
Calvary	45.6	42.7	2	4.0	5.0	2
Bethlehem	37.9			4.1		
Bethany	54.6			4.7		

4. Non-Ritual Participation. The number of organizations and societies and the degree of participation in them seemed to provide a good measure for non-ritual participation. The expected decrease in participation as we moved down the scale also emerged clearly. As might be expected, the two factors correlated perfectly. In most instances they correlated quite highly with the other factors considered:

positively with gross gain and the proportion of women, and negatively with mission gain, residence and the communion rate.

The findings for the Sunday School attendance rate were the most incomplete of any of the factors surveyed. Four of the seventeen churches did not provide the data needed for figuring this percentage. The rates which were available were highest for Type A churches, but lowest for Type B. Types C and D churches fell between the two extremes. This factor correlated positively with gross gain, percentage of women, and attendance.

Table 6 presents the total non-ritual participation profile.

5. Internal Administration. As an objective measure of internal administration, we used the average financial gift per communicant member and the proportion of the total financial income allocated for benevolences. As was expected, Type A churches ranked measurably above the others with an average yearly contribution of $143.00. Type B churches gave an average of $103.00. The rate of giving for Types C and D churches was rather uniformly low, with the exception of Bethany. Bethany's higher rate of giving raised the Type D average to slightly above that of the Type C churches. This factor had a perfect negative correlation with mission gains, residence, and communion

TABLE 6

NON-RITUAL PARTICIPATION

Churches	No. of Org.	Av.	Rank Order	Org./ Commun.	Av.	Rank Order	Sunday School Att.	Av.	Rank Order
TYPE A									
St. Matthew	2			25.7			-		
St. Mark	10			58.4			77.5		
St. Luke	10	13	1	78.5	57.2	1	80.0	75.2	1
St. John	33			89.7			68.0		
St. Paul	10			33.5			-		
TYPE B									
Grace	16			41.1			73.0		
Hope	6	9.5	2	77.9	57.2	2	51.7	57.2	4
Faith	7			46.1			50.0		
Atonement	9			63.9			54.4		
TYPE C									
Redeemer	9			57.5			76.6		
Christ	10	8.7	3	53.7	51.9	3	-	67.8	2
Messiah	9			55.8			56.1		
Our Savior	7			40.8			70.9		
TYPE D									
Zion	8			26.1			56.7		
Calvary	5	7	4	50.0	40.9	4	67.7	64.8	3
Bethlehem	8			39.6			-		
Bethany	7			48.0			70.2		

attendance. It had a high positive correlation with the percentage of white-collar workers, number of organizations, and organizational participation.

TABLE 7

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION INDEX

Churches	Financial Gift per Communicant	Av.	Rank Order	Benevo-lences	Av.	Rank Order
TYPE A						
St. Matthew	$134.38			.078		
St. Mark	205.21			.081		
St. Luke	147.71	$143.89	1	.053	.097	3
St. John	100.78			.142		
St. Paul	131.40			.133		
TYPE B						
Grace	94.76			.142		
Hope	121.70	103.73	2	.092	.107	1
Faith	71.69			.124		
Atonement	126.78			.070		
TYPE C						
Redeemer	96.05			.024		
Christ	109.54	94.70	4	.201	.101	2
Messiah	90.05			.016		
Our Savior	83.16			.165		
TYPE D						
Zion	47.32			.089		
Calvary	117.58	96.19	3	.069	.094	4
Bethlehem	93.56			.074		
Bethany	126.32			.144		

As noted in our initial discussion of the use of the benevolence figure, we feared that two other factors might distort its value: (1) size of church, (2) the possible presence of a parish day school. The problems did materialize. The correlations were uniformly low.

This was the only one of the thirteen measures which did not correlate with at least three other factors. It is included as a negative exhibit solely for the sake of completeness.

6. In Mundum. We checked on the churches' relation to the outside community simply in terms of the number of total contacts and services which were extended to the community. A summary of the findings is presented in Table 8.

TABLE 8

IN MUNDUM INDEX

Churches	Activities Index	Average	Rank Order
TYPE A			
St. Matthew	6		
St. Mark	14		
St. Luke	16	19	1
St. John	34		
St. Paul	26		
TYPE B			
Grace	36		
Hope	16	18	3
Faith	4		
Atonement	16		
TYPE C			
Redeemer	10		
Christ	14	14	4
Messiah	12		
Our Savior	20		
TYPE D			
Zion	12		
Calvary	36	19	2
Bethlehem	2		
Bethany	26		

The pattern is not clear. The Type A churches ranked first. However, two churches in Type D neighborhoods were alert to the need for meeting the changing areas, and instituted more extensive contact with their communities. This is reflected in the fact that this entire category moved into second place. Again factors other than strictly ecological ones must be considered. This factor correlated perfectly with the percentage of white-collar workers. It also had a high correlation with the attendance and the financial pattern. It correlated negatively with mission gain, residence, and communion attendance.

We present a summary of the rank order correlations in Table 9. A total of 44 per cent of the items correlated at the .80 per cent level or above. Six of the thirteen factors highly correlated with at least seven other factors, namely, the mission gain, pattern of residence, communion rate, number of activities, and participation in them, and financial giving. The percentage of white-collar workers and the community contacts correlated with six other factors. As noted previously, the proportion of benevolences did not correlate with any of the other factors. This is significant since it has been a standard item in the analysis of urban churches. In his original discussion Douglass indicated that the benevolences of the slightly adapted urban church was considerably lower than for the other

types of churches. He found great variations among the various types. He concluded:

> Novelty of program coupled with institutional instability registers in lack of resources to meet external and general needs, while conservatism of program with economy of per capita operating costs leaves more for such needs.[41]

TABLE 9

RANK ORDER CORRELATIONS

	Gross Gain	Mission Gain	Residence	White-Collar	Per Cent Women	Attendance	Communion	Organizations	Org. Participation	Sunday School	Finances	Benevolences	Activities
Gross Gain	-												
Mission Gain	-.40	-											
Residence	-.40	1.00	-										
White-Collar	.20	-.80	-.80	-									
Per Cent Women	1.00	-.40	-.40	.20	-								
Attendance	.40	-.40	-.40	.80	.40	-							
Communion	-.40	1.00	1.00	-.80	-.40	-.40	-						
Organizations	.80	-.80	-.80	.40	.80	.20	-.80	-					
Org. Participation	.80	-.80	-.80	.40	.80	.20	-.80	1.00	-				
Sunday School	.80	-.20	-.20	.40	.80	.80	-.20	.40	.40	-			
Finances	.40	-1.00	-1.00	.80	.40	.40	-1.00	.80	.80	.20	-		
Benevolences	.20	.10	.10	.20	.20	-.40	0	.40	.40	-.40	0	-	
Activities	.20	-.80	-.80	1.00	.20	.80	-.80	.40	.40	.40	.80	-.20	-

[41] Douglass, 1000 City Churches, p. 105.

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS OF TYPE A CHURCHES

Using the three dimensions of economic, family and ethnic status, we have succeeded in dividing the seventeen churches under consideration into four broad categories. In this chapter we shall analyze the five churches in the quadrant representing the highest social rank and the lowest degree of urbanization.

We shall consider them in the order of their social rank, beginning with St. Matthew Church, which had the highest social rank. In Table 10 a summary of the five churches is given, indicating their rating on the three dimensions of social rank, urbanization and segregation. The social area occupied also is indicated.

TABLE 10

SOCIAL RANK, URBANIZATION AND SEGREGATION RATING OF TYPE A CHURCHES

Church	Social Rank	Urbanization	Segregation	Area
St. Matthew . .	95	18	4	4A
St. Mark . . .	93	34	12	4B
St. Luke . . .	73	18	10	3A
St. John . . .	68	19	7	4A
St. Paul . . .	54	16	2	3A

A comparison of the church's rank with its social area will highlight the problem of assigning a specific rank order to the churches. Thus the church with the third highest social rank fell into the 3A social area. Similarly the church with the fifth highest social rank (Grace Church, with a social rank of 63) out of the seventeen churches studied became a Type B church because of its relatively high urbanization score. The five churches fell into three of the four cells in the A quadrant.

We shall consider first St. Matthew Church, a church in cell 4A.

St. Matthew Church

At the time of the study, St. Matthew Church was both the youngest and the smallest congregation among the Type A churches. It was begun in 1946 and was twelve years old at the time of our investigation. At that time it served 369 baptized members, of whom 257 were resident communicants; another eleven were non-resident communicants. The church serves a suburban community which is decidedly above average socially and economically. The area is zoned almost exclusively for single-family dwellings on lots of at least one-half acre in size. The median value of owner-occupied dwellings in the church neighborhood was $30,000.

The church and parsonage are located on a main boulevard. The congregation owns a sizeable lot on which the buildings stand. The church is a small, chaste white colonial-type building--done in good taste, although it is not unusually large. Built in 1949, the building, including the Sunday School rooms, is appraised at $95,000. The church wing of the building is limited in size, seating only 132 people.

A. Membership.[42] The church is not a "neighborhood" type in terms of the geographic spread of its membership. Only six communicant members live within a half-mile of the church. Table 11 shows the distribution of membership. For purposes of comparison the distribution of members of the Sunday School also is included.

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[42]Lutheran Churches define communicant members as those: "(1) who are baptized in the name of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; (2) who accept all canonical books of the Old and New Testaments as the only divine rule and standard of faith and life; (3) who are familiar at least with Luther's Small Catechism and declare their acceptance of it; (4) who attend divine services faithfully; (5) who lead Christian lives and do not live in manifest works of the flesh (Galations 5:19-21); (6) who partake of the Lord's Supper frequently after their confirmation; (7) who contribute regularly and faithfully, as God has prospered them, toward the building of Christ's kingdom in the congregation and throughout the world; (8) who devote their time and talents to the extension of the kingdom of God; (9) who permit themselves to be fraternally admonished and corrected when they have erred; (10) who are not members, affiliates, or supporters of secret societies or other organizations conflicting with the Word of God." Guidelines for the Constitution and Bylaws of a Lutheran Church (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956), pp. 3-4. While every communicant member may not demonstrate the intensity of faith which may be implied in these statements, the concept does suggest a strong personal relationship with God and the Church.

TABLE 11

DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNICANT AND SUNDAY SCHOOL MEMBERS OF ST. MATTHEW CHURCH

Distance	Church Members	Per Cent	Sunday School Members	Per Cent
1/2 mile or less	6	2.3	2	1.7
1/2 to 1 mile	33	12.8	15	17.3
1 to 2 miles	87	33.8	33	44.0
2 to 5 miles	62	24.2	27	37.0
5 miles and over	69	26.9	0	0.0
Total	257	100.0	75	100.0

As we proceed, it will be noted that this pattern of distribution is fairly common for the Type A church. Unlike the membership of the Type C church, for example, the members live at some distance from the church. At St. Matthew the median member lived in the circle of homes slightly over two miles from the church building. While the median Sunday School pupil came from the same distance, the Sunday School did not draw from beyond the five-mile radius. At the same time, more than one-quarter of the communicant members came from this distance.

Equally significant was the socio-economic group served by St. Matthew Church. Well over half of its membership was drawn from the professional and managerial class. A total of 87 per cent of those employed are in white-collar occupations; this was the highest proportion among the survey churches. Less

than one in twenty worked as an operative. Approximately one in ten was engaged in sales work. Table 12 indicates the break-down of occupations for church members as compared to the neighborhood.

TABLE 12

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF ST. MATTHEW COMMUNICANTS IN COMPARISON WITH THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Occupational Group	St. Matthew		Neighborhood		Percentage Difference
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Professional	22	26.5	1400	20.6	+5.9
Proprietors	32	38.6	3200	46.9	-8.3
Clerical	8	9.7	1500	22.0	-0.1
Sales Workers	10	12.2			
Operatives	6	7.2	90	1.3	+5.9
Domestics	. .	. .	500	7.4	-7.4
Service Workers	1	1.1	. .	. .	+1.1
Farm Laborers	1	1.1	. .	. .	+1.1
Laborers	. .	. .	90	1.3	-1.3

Although the church does not draw significant numbers from its community, it does serve a general cross section of the people located in its greater neighborhood. The differences in the groups tend to cancel out one another. Thus while this church serves slightly more professionals, it serves fewer managers and proprietors. Similarly, while it has no members who are domestic workers, it has proportionately more factory workers than are found in the community. Type A churches contain a membership drawn predominantly from the professional and managerial groups.

To complete the description of the church membership, we compared the age-sex pyramid of the church with its neighborhood. It will be noted in Table 13 that the percentage of men and women served mirrored the conditions in the neighborhood.

TABLE 13

AGE-SEX BREAK-DOWN FOR
ST. MATTHEW CHURCH AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD
BY PERCENTAGES

Age Group	St. Matthew		Neighborhood	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
65 & over . . .	1.8	5.1	3.3	4.3
55-64	4.5	4.8	4.7	4.9
45-54	9.9	12.1	7.9	10.0
35-44	5.1	5.1	8.9	9.7
25-34	3.3	3.9	4.5	4.6
20-24	3.3	2.7	1.1	1.0
15-19	4.8	7.5	3.1	2.9
10-14	6.3	5.1	4.5	4.6
5-9	5.7	2.1	4.7	4.7
0-4	3.6	3.3	5.3	5.3
Total . . .	48.3	51.7	48.0	52.0

Reflecting the lowered birth rate of the depression years, there were relatively fewer people in their twenties in the community, particularly in the age group from 20 to 24 years. This represented only 2.1 per cent of the total population. The congregation was slightly stronger, numbering 6 per cent of its members in this age category. The largest number of adults within the church (22 per cent) were between 45 and 54 years of age. The community itself fell even more heavily into the age

group from 35 to 44 years; the church was weaker in enlisting this particular group. Within the church the average age for a male was 34.1 years; and the average age for a female was more than three years older, 37.4 years. Within the neighborhood the average age for a male was 36.0 years and the average age for a woman was 38.0 years.

B. Recruitment and Community Contact. While the growth of St. Matthew has remained small, it ranks above average in gross gains over the past five-year period. As the recruitment index indicates, it has received one new member per year for every existing 9.5 members. Its gross gain rate of .112 was third highest of all survey churches. We discovered that typical of Type A churches is the fact that its rate of winning converts is considerably lower. The average for Type A churches is one convert per year for each 34.7 existing members. The mission gain rate of .048 for St. Matthew Church, however, ranked first among the Type A churches. As the church has become more established, the number of new converts has become more significant in the total growth of the church. In the first half of the decade preceding the study, the greatest part of its growth (67.7 per cent) was derived from transfers of Lutherans from other congregations. Within the last five years this figure has dropped to 47.8 per cent. Conversely, the percentage of adult converts grew

in the two periods from an average of 20.9 to 27.6 per cent. The congregational lay leadership sensed that their church was weak in its total recruitment. When they had completed the data for the self-study, they concluded:

> The committee feels that our membership is representative of the community but is growing mainly from people moving in, from transfers and reclaiming of inactive Lutherans. Adult confirmations in the majority are wives or husbands of Lutherans. . . Our church lacks an evangelism and a stewardship program.[43]

The church was relatively inactive in confronting its community. In the year of the study it conducted no regular activities designed especially to serve the church neighborhood. The pastor reported attendance at the meetings of the Lutheran Pastoral Conference and stated that he attempted to plan cooperatively with neighboring Lutheran churches. For several years, for example, they have sponsored a joint Reformation observance to which they have invited a nationally recognized Luther scholar as speaker.

In the personal interview the pastor answered the question regarding any attempt on the part of the church to improve the desirability of the neighborhood by saying, "No, not directly in the neighborhood, although I think that as a church carries on its program, it is serving its neighborhood and community and is a good influence in the community." The pastor

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[43]All interview material is in the author's files.

followed the classically Lutheran pattern in describing action in particular community projects as the task of individual church members rather than that of the church as an organization.

C. Ritual Participation. As tests of ritual participation, we checked Sunday morning church attendance and the average communion attendance for the year under study. St. Matthew fell precisely at the average of the seventeen churches under consideration in her rate of worship attendance. An average of 39.4 per cent of the baptized members attended on an average Sunday morning. This, however, was well below the average for other Type A churches. "Our members are too busy in their everyday life to participate in local church activities without super effort and leadership," the lay leaders concluded.

Its rate of participation at Holy Communion also was one of the lowest for the churches in the highest socio-economic category with an average of 3.8 receptions per communicant per year.

D. Non-Ritual Participation. St. Matthew ranked lowest of all the churches in the number of organizations or societies available for its membership. It has only two organizations, one for the women and another for the young people. It was the only deviant from the pattern of Type A churches to have an above-average number of organizations. The rate of

participation of its members likewise was among the lowest, again deviant from Type A churches. In examining this area of their church's life, the lay leaders concluded: "We should try to develop programs to suit the particular interests of our members and to secure a wider participation of more members."

E. Internal Administration. When the pastor was asked, "What bothers you most about the current program of the church?," he commented: "The fact that in many respects, as far as administration is concerned, we are not too well organized." He further indicated, "There are too many things that need to be done that are not being done, unless possibly the pastor does it or one or two others do it."

A total of thirty-two different people held offices or leadership positions, which represented 13.6 per cent of the active communicant members--apparently an adequate leadership group. The lay leadership seems to be well structured theoretically, though perhaps not too successful in carrying out its functions. For example, in recent years a new standing committee was added to undertake the future planning for the congregation. The committee of nine members was charged with a well-designed set of tasks, including the review and study of the potential growth (rate, timing, and causative factors), present and proposed programs, adequacy of facilities, and the present and future financial

ability of the congregation. The leadership was desirous of having a comprehensive plan which would guide the institution.

As an index of internal administration, the financial picture also was above average--as would be expected for a Type A church. The average communicant member contributed approximately $134 during the year of the study. To the extent that the benevolence index reflected internal administration, we view St. Matthew's rate of .078 as relatively weak--above all, for a church in a Type A neighborhood.

F. Pastoral Leadership. While it is difficult to quantify material about pastoral leadership, it soon became apparent that this factor formed the other key along with the ecological position of the church. At the time of the study, the pastor of St. Matthew's was 58 years of age and had been at the church for nine years. Prior to coming to this parish, he had served a congregation in a large industrial city for the major part of his ministry. He is a neat, well-groomed man, rather quiet in manner, and gives the impression of desiring to please and to be friendly.

The main problem which the pastor sensed was the lack of greater growth. When asked about the principal problems which his church faced over the preceding five years, he answered:

> Problems?--Well, there have been no great problems. I mean, the work is going on. I don't think that

> we are achieving the growth that many churches in the suburban areas are achieving. And that is the constant challenge to us--to make sure that we are exploiting all of our possibilities. I think that that is quite a problem. One feels that when a church has been established over a number of years, there should be a greater degree of progress--increase of membership. I don't know if everyone in the church feels it as keenly as I do.

In the interview we sought to determine to what extent a pastor may have exerted vigorous leadership in his congregation through the elected officials. In St. Matthew Church a board of directors, consisting of seven members, was the governing body of the church, responsible to the voters' assembly which is composed of the adult males of the congregation. The pastor was asked, "How much of a role do you have in deciding who will be on the board of directors?" He answered: "I don't play a very great role in that respect. I haven't in all cases even conferred with the members of the nominating committee."

In spite of some persistent problems, the pastor felt strongly that his congregation served an essential function in ministering to those who moved into this exclusive suburban area:

> I feel rather strongly that. . . we need a church in a community such as this--a church which brings the Gospel, of our Lutheran faith--which will serve as a rallying point and center for Lutherans who have risen above their past level economically and commercially, and that there is a church for them also. Not that I mean that this church should foster class consciousness. But I think that we need a church in a community of this type.

St. Mark Church

The church with the second highest social rank, St. Mark Church, fell into the 4B cell of the social areas of metropolitan St. Louis. The area in which the church is located rated as follows: Social rank, 93; urbanization, 34; segregation, 12. In comparison with the other Type A churches, the community around St. Mark Church was characterized by high social rank. Its urbanization and segregation indices were the highest of all the Type A churches. Our question is whether these basic ecological conditions will fashion a church which is distinguishable in type from churches located in areas where these ecological factors are measurably different.

St. Mark Church began holding services in 1913 in the rented quarters of an old Presbyterian Church located near the courthouse of a suburban village. In 1926 they moved to their present location, a prominent corner in a stable upper middle-class neighborhood. The area developed during the decade of the mid-twenties and early thirties. The dwelling units are for the most part single-family homes and medium-sized apartment houses. The median value of the owner-occupied dwellings was placed at $20,000.

In keeping with other Type A churches, St. Mark Church has an ideal location at a major boulevard intersection. The area surrounding the church is entirely

residential on two sides, with a university campus across the boulevard. Erected in 1934, the church now is appraised at $375,000. It seats 450 persons. It is an attractive stone structure on the outside, and is tastefully appointed on the interior. During the year of the study, the congregation bought the adjoining property in order to raze it for the construction of a more adequate school building.

At the end of 1958 the church claimed 700 baptized members, of whom 575 were communicants; 553 were resident communicants at the time of the study. During the course of the past ten years the church has grown slightly. As was true of virtually all seventeen churches under consideration, the mobility rates are so high that the church must continue to enlist people at a relatively high rate just to maintain its existence.

A. Membership. The pattern which we will see developing for Type A churches will show its membership to center in a circle of from one to two miles distance from the church building. This held true for St. Mark Church. A greater number of members lived beyond five miles from the church than lived within a radius of one-half mile. A similar distribution was found for Sunday School pupils. Table 14 shows the distribution of membership.

TABLE 14

DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNICANT AND SUNDAY SCHOOL MEMBERS OF ST. MARK CHURCH

Distance	Church Members	Per Cent	Sunday School Members	Per Cent
1/2 mile or less	45	8.1	11	11.7
1/2 to 1 mile	76	13.7	24	25.5
1 to 2 miles	197	35.7	25	26.6
2 to 5 miles	170	30.7	34	36.2
5 miles and over	65	11.8	. .	. .
Total	553	100.0	94	100.0

It will be noted that St. Mark Church differs from other Type A churches in that it does not serve various occupational groups in the proportions in which they were represented in the area surrounding the church. The congregation had drawn more than its share of professional and clerical workers. At the same time it had far less than its expected proportion of proprietors and sales workers. Over 83 per cent of the congregation were in white-collar positions. In the four categories mentioned (in which the bulk of the occupations were found) there were great differentials. There were few factory workers, domestics or laborers in the church. This differed from the community only in that there were proportionately fewer domestic workers within the church.

TABLE 15

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF ST. MARK COMMUNICANTS IN COMPARISON WITH THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Occupational Group	St. Mark		Neighborhood		Percentage Difference
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Professional	65	29.6	3471	20.6	+ 9.0
Proprietors	34	15.4	4466	26.7	-11.3
Clerical	58	26.4	2591	15.4	+11.0
Sales Workers	32	14.6	3276	19.6	- 5.0
Craftsmen	10	4.4	644	3.8	+ 0.6
Operatives	7	3.2	613	3.6	- 3.4
Domestics	4	2.0	849	5.1	- 3.1
Service Workers	9	4.1	567	3.4	+ 0.7
Laborers	1	0.4	126	0.7	- 0.3
Farm Laborers	. .	. .	174	1.0	- 1.0

The pastor of St. Mark Church indicated that the congregation conventionally thought of itself as a church of older people. The survey findings surprised them; the congregational median age was 34.1 years. While this is above average, it was not as great as the self-image of the congregation had led it to expect. The median age of males was 37.8 years, and of females, 39.9 years. It will be noted in Table 16 that 15.4 per cent of the total membership was 65 years of age and over. In comparison with the other churches under consideration, it had a significantly smaller number of children enrolled. A comparison of the percentages for the church and neighborhood will show that the church had far more older people than were represented in the community and a smaller proportion of children than were available.

St. Mark Church differs from others in the Type A category in its proportion of women to men. A check of the total Lutheran population of the St. Louis metropolitan area revealed a proportion of 55 per cent female to 45 per cent male. In general, the older the community, the greater the percentage of women compared to men within the church. While the other churches in the vicinity of St. Mark rather closely approximated this average, this congregation was 60.6 per cent female and 39.4 per cent male. The difference is significant in every age category above the age of confirmation at approximately 14 years.

TABLE 16

AGE-SEX BREAK-DOWN FOR
ST. MARK CHURCH AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD
BY PERCENTAGES

Age Group	St. Mark		Neighborhood	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
65 & over	5.4	10.1	3.8	5.5
55-64	5.0	9.5	5.7	6.3
45-54	5.1	7.0	7.3	8.8
35-44	3.6	7.7	7.0	8.5
25-34	7.2	9.2	6.3	6.9
20-24	1.9	3.5	4.8	3.7
15-19	1.9	4.8	3.0	3.2
10-14	2.6	3.3	2.6	2.6
5-9	3.9	2.3	3.1	3.1
0-4	2.7	3.5	4.0	3.9
Total	39.4	60.6	47.6	52.5

B. Recruitment and Community Contact. St. Mark is, as we have seen, a regional church--drawing its membership from rather great distances. In the course of the last five years it has received a total of 67 new communicant members into its fellowship each year. The major part of this gain (some 65 per cent) is due to the transfer of other Lutherans into the parish. Its gross gain rate of .094 is fair: one new member has been received for each nine communicant members. Typical of Type A churches, the congregation has received relatively fewer converts per year. The church has gained an average of ten new adults per year. This gave the congregation a low mission index of .017. Because of the small child population in the church, only 11 per cent of its growth is accounted for through child confirmation.

Each of the last two pastors has been extremely conscious of community contacts. Throughout the pastoral interview, for example, it was difficult to keep the pastor talking about his parish rather than the problems of the church in the entire metropolitan area. Most of the plans he discussed for the future affected the broader Lutheran community rather than his congregation only. This concern is reflected somewhat in the in mundum index of 14. The pastor evidenced a much greater concern verbally than has been translated into action thus far. He is active in the Rotary and

frequently lunches with members of his congregation who hold responsible positions with the county government. The church hall is used as a polling place; some community improvement associations have held meetings at the church. The church is deficient, however, in conducting a specific service program for the community. It prides itself on the number of its members who are personally active in civic and community organizations.

C. Ritual Participation. St. Mark ranked first on the ritual participation index, specifically in the percentage of its membership which worships on an average Sunday morning. Its rate of 61.4 was twenty points above the average. One internal factor which increased this rate is the fact that an unusually high number of their total members are communicants (86.5 per cent), slightly more than twenty points above the average. This in turn is a function of the smaller child population. Its participation rate in Holy Communion was one of four which fell precisely at the average. In its ritual participation, then, it follows the general pattern established for the Type A church. A comparison of its ritual participation rate over the past five years reveals a consistently high rate of attendance at worship and an average rate of communion attendance. Table 17 shows this comparison.

TABLE 17

RITUAL PARTICIPATION AT ST. MARK CHURCH
1954-1958

Year	Average Sunday Attendance	Ratio to Membership	Communion per Year
1954	418	56.8	4.3
1955	456	58.7	4.4
1956	457	57.3	4.5
1957	476	63.5	4.7
1958	416	59.4	4.4
Average	445	59.1	4.5

D. Non-Ritual Participation. St. Mark was strong in two of the three areas surveyed in non-ritual participation. It offered the services of ten different organizations and societies. This was about average for all of the churches. Its organizational participation rate of 58.4 was good. Its rate of Sunday School attendance of 77.5 also was high. Ordinarily the smaller Sunday School has a higher rate of attendance. In addition, the churches with Christian day schools have a greater educational leadership potential in their professional teaching staffs.

E. Internal Administration. The lay leadership of the congregation seems to be characterized by a tremendous potential, but less actual utilization. The present pastor thus described it:

> The church's lay leadership has tremendous potential, but has had limited challenge within the framework of the local congregation. Individual people have assumed leadership positions on boards and committees away from the parish.

He continued to describe the men's abilities as lying in their educational backgrounds and in their contacts with the intellectual and economic world. The greatest weakness, he felt, was a lack of understanding on the part of the people as to the role which the individual parish is to play on the wider scene. Thus those with leadership abilities were working more on the level of inter-parish activities than within St. Mark Church itself. This is evidenced by the extremely low leadership rate experienced by the church. Only 29 different people held offices or occupied responsible leadership positions; this is but 5.7 per cent of the active communicants. Only one Type C church had a lower leadership rate than did St. Mark Church.

Financially, however, the church ranked first, with contributions approximately double those of the average church. The superior financial giving characterized the Type A church. A closer examination of the financial picture suggests that possibly a few of the wealthier families are carrying the financial burden of the entire church. Thirty-six per cent of the communicant membership gave less than $50.00 to the church during the year under consideration. At the same time 8 per cent gave $300.00 or more. Since

the total giving was higher during 1958 because of a building fund drive which netted almost $40,000.00, the comparative figures are given for the last five years.

TABLE 18

FINANCIAL PICTURE OF ST. MARK CHURCH
1954-1958

Year	Current Receipts	Benevolences	Building Fund or Debt Reduction	Average per Communicant
1954	$46,500	$17,400	$ 4,000	$118.91
1955	55,200	28,900	5,900	151.00
1956	59,900	23,700	4,400	146.91
1957	62,300	17,400	7,000	146.70
1958	58,100	20,600	39,300	205.21

F. Pastoral Leadership. At the time of the study, the present pastor of St. Mark Church had served the congregation for a period of only two years. He is a capable pastor with broad interests. Beyond the limits of his parish, he served on the board of the local Lutheran High School and is involved with various committee assignments and in the area of organized youth work. One feels that his interests, natural abilities, and taste fit him well for the type of parish he currently is serving. Having come from the parish ministry in another mid-western city, he is rather critical of many aspects of Lutheran parish life as he found it in St. Louis. Already on the program committee of the

local Lutheran pastoral conference, he is attempting to exert an influence on the thinking of the broader Lutheran community. He expresses particular concern about the lack of contacts which the average Missouri Synod pastor has with other Lutheran and Protestant clergymen. He is trying personally to foster such dialogues.

The pastor indicates that he is attempting to exert a more indirect type of leadership in his own parish, working where possible through the lay leaders. When asked what role he may have in deciding who would be on the church council, he said that he did more through "personal counseling, dropping a suggestion here and there as to why this man would be qualified or another would not be." When asked directly about whether he exercised a controlling voice in the deliberations of the council, he stated that because he was relatively new, he felt that he still was being tested and "sized up." He indicated that he did not exert a controlling voice. "In addition, the leadership of this church makes a strong pastoral leadership rather difficult because of the amount of lay ability shown." He also spoke of a "very direct and open challenge to the leadership of the pastor."

Significant in the leadership structure of the congregation has been a certain "jockeying" for position. One board or committee evidenced concern lest

another group invade the domain of its responsibility. Some tensions were apparent among the men of the congregation in exerting influence in policy decisions. Meanwhile the pastor felt that the men viewed the task of the church primarily in terms of business, rather than in broader and deeper spiritual dimensions. He found it difficult, he said, to introduce even fifteen minutes of Bible study or a topic discussion into the monthly meetings of the voters' assembly.

In summary, St. Mark Church appears to be a Type A church which is very conscious of its position of prestige. Although it is possible that this was more true of the congregation twenty years ago than it is currently, both pastor and people are very much aware of the unique position occupied by St. Mark. The pastor still characterizes the church as being "the leading church in St. Louis."

St. Luke Church

St. Luke was one of two churches which fell into the 3A cell. These are located in areas characterized by low urbanization and slightly lower social rank. They amplify our understanding of Type A churches.

St. Luke Church had a social rank of 73, an urbanization rate of 18, and a segregation rate of 10. Organized in 1931, the church originally served a small suburban village. In recent years the area has been

filled with new single-family detached dwellings. The church's community is essentially an area of single-family residences with commercial zoning along its two main streets. An area of light industry is located near one perimeter of the area. Multi-family dwellings are restricted to one extremely large unit of low-rise apartments, built immediately after World War II. The median value of the owner-occupied dwellings was $14,900.

In the early thirties the congregation built an attractive though small brick chapel. When these quarters were outgrown in the late forties, the members began looking for another site. In 1951 they negotiated to buy eight acres of land owned by the operator of a noted old restaurant. The group remodeled the $100,000 property and began holding both church services and school sessions in the building. At the time of the study, the congregation was still using these facilities, although there was strong feeling on the part of some that the congregation should erect a new church building as soon as possible. The facilities are important because many members feel that the present set-up is restricting the growth of the congregation.

The church experienced slow but steady growth during its early years. With the community population becoming more stabilized, the church membership also has been on a plateau for the last five years. Since

1951 both the baptized membership and the communicant membership have grown by approximately 100 members. At the end of 1958 the church records showed 745 baptized members and 505 communicant members.

A. Membership. Of all the Type A churches surveyed, St. Luke Church served the most compact neighborhood. It is rather unusual for a suburban Lutheran church to have so strong a concentration of membership within one mile of the church building. Over 73 per cent of its members lived within this radius. Less than 13 per cent lived two miles or more from the church. Comparable figures were discovered for both the Sunday School and the Christian day school.

TABLE 19

DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNICANT AND SUNDAY SCHOOL MEMBERS OF ST. LUKE CHURCH

Distance	Church Members	Per Cent	Sunday School Members	Per Cent
1/2 mile or less	145	28.7	64	33.2
1/2 to 1 mile	226	44.8	85	44.0
1 to 2 miles	70	13.9	30	15.5
2 to 5 miles	46	9.1	14	7.3
5 miles and over	18	3.5	0	. .
Total	505	100.0	193	100.0

The new communicants gained within the last five years came almost exclusively from within the one-mile radius from the church.

In broad outline St. Luke Church served people in various occupational categories in the same proportions as they were found in the community. At five points there was a difference. The congregation had a slightly greater proportion of professionals and proprietors; it was significantly strong in the latter category. At the same time the church was not serving its share of clerical workers and domestics. The proportion of laborers was small in the community. With 9 per cent of the church coming from this background, the church also was strong in serving this category. Sixty-four per cent of its workers were employed in white-collar occupations.

TABLE 20

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF ST. LUKE COMMUNICANTS IN COMPARISON WITH THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Occupational Group	St. Luke		Neighborhood		Percentage Difference
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Professional	36	20.4	655	15.4	+5.0
Proprietors	43	24.2	680	16.0	+8.2
Clerical	19	10.7	739	17.4	-6.7
Sales Workers	16	9.0	528	12.4	-3.4
Craftsmen	31	17.6	670	15.8	+2.2
Operatives	16	9.0	533	12.5	-3.5
Domestics	. .	. .	98	2.3	-2.3
Service Workers	. .	. .	200	4.7	-4.7
Laborers	16	9.0	149	3.5	+5.5

The population pyramid of the congregation assumed an unusual form. The heaviest concentration of

members was in the early-teens category. The largest single category was composed of those between 10 and 14 years of age. A total of 23 per cent of the baptized membership fell between the ages of 10 and 20 years. The general proportion of adults between 20 and 54 years of age remained quite similar in each decade. There is then a sharp decline in the upper age brackets. Only 4 per cent of the congregation is 65 years of age or over. This pattern was not reflected in the neighborhood. The community found its strongest concentration of people below the age of 9 years and between 35 and 44 years of age. Table 21 presents a complete comparison. It will be noticed that the proportion of women to men in both the community and the congregation is typical of a stable residential community.

TABLE 21

AGE-SEX BREAK-DOWN FOR
ST. LUKE CHURCH AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD
BY PERCENTAGES

Age Group	St. Luke		Neighborhood	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
65 & over . .	1.1	2.6	2.2	3.5
55-64	2.5	3.0	2.9	3.2
45-54	6.5	6.6	6.8	6.1
35-44	6.3	9.0	9.8	10.1
25-34	5.6	6.5	6.8	8.6
20-24	1.5	2.9	2.2	2.7
15-19	5.0	3.7	2.5	2.9
10-14	7.6	6.8	3.5	3.5
5-9	6.1	6.3	5.4	5.0
0-4	4.8	5.6	6.2	6.1
Total . .	47.0	53.0	48.3	51.7

B. Recruitment and Community Contact. Thus far the Type A churches have had superior recruitment scores in terms of gross gains. St. Luke Church ranked above average among the Type A churches in the proportionate number of individuals accepted into its membership each year. Its gross gain index was .111. Within the past five years the congregation gained an average of 61 members each year. This amounted to one new member for each 7.8 communicants. Its mobility rate was so high, however, that its net gain amounted to only 17 members per year. This fact followed the pattern set by most of the churches under consideration.

As with other Type A churches, St. Luke Church was below average in the proportion of new members won from the community as converts. Its index of .018 was low even for Type A churches. It averaged one adult convert for each 41.8 communicants. Over the past five years 56 per cent of its recruitment came through the acceptance of transfers from other churches. Some 24 per cent came through child confirmations; the remaining 20 per cent were mission gains.

As will be seen later, the congregation had a high rate of participation in non-ritual activities. A phase of this has affected its community contacts. For example, the church sponsored Boy Scouts, Cub Scouts, Brownies, and a supervised gym program. A member of the Christian day school faculty served as coach for the

school teams and directed their large playground facilities during the summer months. The Rotary Club also meets at the church for its weekly dinner meeting. While the pastor has been quite active in Lutheran circles, the lay leadership of the church is conscious of the fact that both church and minister are not taking an active part in community oriented organizations. Its community-directed activities rate was 16; the church directed only some 16 per cent of its total contributions to benevolences outside of its own immediate organization.

C. Ritual Participation. Type A churches have had a good rate of church attendance in comparison with others. While St. Luke's rate of attendance was average when compared to all the churches, it was low in comparison with the other churches in its category. The pastor and leadership of the church were keenly aware of this problem. When asked, "What bothers you most about the current program of the church?," the pastor pointed to two areas: "You are always bothered by the fact that there is a large percentage of your people not present at the church services. In other words, out of 500 communicants and 875 souls, our average Sunday morning attendance is 325." He also referred to the area of the community as not being "a great or easy mission field. Here we have largely a type of people already churched. Many have a favorite type of church which they don't attend."

The congregation's communion rate of 4.5 also was average. The summary of the ritual participation rate over the past five years (Table 22) indicates that actual Sunday morning attendance was slightly lower in the year of the study. Removing some of the names of those on the baptized membership records who were no longer in the community caused the percentage figure to improve slightly.

TABLE 22

RITUAL PARTICIPATION AT ST. LUKE CHURCH
1954-1958

Year	Average Sunday Attendance	Ratio to Membership	Communion per Year
1954	286	36.5	4.4
1955	310	39.7	4.8
1956	313	39.4	5.0
1957	308	41.5	4.5
1958	299	40.1	4.5
Average	303	39.4	4.6

D. Non-Ritual Participation. St. Luke ranked high in all three checks of non-ritual participation. Its ten organizations and societies ranked slightly above average, while its organizational participation rate of 78.5 was extremely high. The members themselves feel that a relatively small group of people are responsible for this high rate. A minority of people are active in many of the church's organizations. A check of the past ten years revealed that the Sunday School

attendance has been consistently high. In 1958 it ranked second among the seventeen churches surveyed. Its lowest attendance rate in the last ten years was 78 per cent in 1953, only two percentage points under 1958.

E. Internal Administration. The pastor strongly felt that part of his role was to avoid any possibility of dominating the leadership of the congregation. When asked about the church's lay leadership now in contrast to five years before, he said:

> There is no difference as to five years ago. But as compared to ten or fifteen years ago, there is a terrific improvement. We've got a better quality of men in. I would say this is because I have encouraged lay leadership; more of it is coming forward through the years. I think the pastor has to adopt the policy that he is going to let his lay leadership function. Sometimes that doesn't make for effectiveness because he could do the job better and quicker. But it does make for wider participation.

This policy manifested itself in a rather large core of lay leaders. A total of 93 different people held office or leadership positions; this amounted to 22 per cent of the active communicants. The only weaknesses the pastor felt in this area arose from the natural conflict of time and interest which the suburbanite is likely to feel between business on the one hand and church and community on the other. Of his laymen the pastor said:

> I don't think any of the men can do as much as they would like because so many of them are active in their own jobs. If they are successful men who would be useful to the church, they are also relatively successful in their jobs.

The church's financial contributions were well above average. Yet the high expenses involved with the operation of their day school perennially made the financial area one of the trouble spots. The average contribution was $147.71, second highest among the churches surveyed. As a church with slightly more than 500 communicant members, they employed a full-time staff of seven people: a pastor, five teachers, and a custodian-bus driver. The lay leaders' impression that a minority of people was carrying the main financial load of the church seemed to be borne out. Thirty-four per cent of the contributors gave under $25.00 per year. In turn, only 11 per cent gave over $250.00. Thus a small number had to give heavily in order to continue the program of the church.

F. Pastoral Leadership. Some members of the church were confused by the pastor's permissive approach to leadership. Accustomed to a more direct method, they felt that the congregation was not progressing as rapidly as it might. As noted previously, the church was barely maintaining itself in total membership and was low in church attendance. These are two phases of a church's work which are most apparent to people. The pastor felt his major strengths lay in working with adults (specifically in teaching) and in his preaching.

A specific test of pastoral leadership arose several years ago when the question of Negro membership was discussed. Although the pastor favored integration,

the congregation voted against extending membership to Negroes. At that time the discussions were quite violent. In the course of the past five years, one or two Negro families have attended the church services but have not applied for membership. The pastor expressed the hope that the climate of opinion within the congregation was changing gradually.

> . . . sober thought and further education has done a lot. Were a Negro to ask for membership, I believe that it would not be the issue that it was.

St. John Church

In spite of its lower social rank (68), St. John Church also fell into the 4A classification. In externals it differs markedly from St. Matthew, the other church in the 4A cell; yet in the more basic pattern, as measured by the six areas of our index, it reflects a great similarity.

St. John was one of the oldest and largest of the churches in our survey. The church was founded in 1873 in what was then a village some miles from St. Louis. The growth of the metropolitan area has pushed far beyond the limits of the original village, incorporating it into the larger metropolitan area. The church in turn has grown from its original 30 communicants to 2,282 baptized members, of whom 1,559 were communicants at the time of our study. For the purposes of our analysis we have worked with the figure of 1,499 resident communicant members. The congregation also operates a Christian day school which currently

enrolls approximately 300 pupils per year.

The church's neighborhood is slightly older, but the homes are substantial and well kept. The median value of the dwellings was $19,000; some 85 per cent were owner-occupied. The suburban movement of the early 1950's has brought an increase of professional and managerial families into the area of the church. Between 1950 and 1957 the population in the church's neighborhood increased from 18,640 to 26,200.

The church's facilities are beautiful. Located on a strategic corner lot in the heart of the community, the congregation spent more than $650,000 within the decade prior to the study in erecting a church and school of modified Gothic architecture. Constructed of variegated Indiana limestone, the church seats 550 on the nave floor and an additional 70 in the choir loft. The church building also provides a small chapel and numerous classrooms and meeting rooms. The school wing houses nine classrooms, a large auditorium, kitchen and dining room. If facilities influence the operation of an institution, as Malinowski suggested, then this congregation seems ideally equipped to carry out its task.

A. Membership. St. John could not be described as a "neighborhood" type church. The bulk of its membership lives in a one-to-two-mile radius from the church building. Unlike St. Matthew, which drew more than a quarter of its membership from beyond a five-mile radius, all of St. John's members lived within five

miles of the church. As noted in Table 23, the pattern of Sunday School distribution is quite similar. Slightly fewer youngsters come from the outer perimeter of the parish.

TABLE 23

DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNICANT AND SUNDAY SCHOOL MEMBERS OF ST. JOHN CHURCH

Distance	Church Members	Per Cent	Sunday School Members	Per Cent
1/2 mile or less	242	16.1	111	20.5
1/2 to 1 mile	218	14.6	63	11.6
1 to 2 miles	664	44.2	285	51.0
2 to 5 miles	375	25.1	83	16.9
5 miles and over	. .	. .	. .	. .
Total	1,499	100.0	542	100.0

The membership of St. John Church seems to reflect the immediate neighborhood socially and occupationally. While almost half of the congregation represents professional or managerial homes, there is a sizeable number of craftsmen, sales workers, and factory workers. With 66 per cent of its membership in white-collar occupations, it ranked below the average of the other Type A churches.

The congregation is drawing slightly more heavily from the group of managers and craftsmen; it is serving slightly fewer sales workers than are found proportionately in the community. But none of the differences is significantly large.

TABLE 24

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF ST. JOHN COMMUNICANTS IN COMPARISON WITH THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Occupational Group	St. John		Neighborhood		Percentage Difference
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Professional	105	16.9	1296	18.2	-1.3
Proprietors	129	20.7	1254	17.6	+3.1
Clerical	113	18.2	1096	15.4	+2.8
Sales Workers	66	10.6	1003	14.1	-3.5
Craftsmen	105	16.9	929	13.1	+3.8
Operatives	58	9.3	580	8.2	+1.1
Domestics	13	2.1	243	3.4	-1.3
Service Workers	26	4.2	376	5.3	-1.1
Laborers	7	1.1	256	3.6	-2.5
Not reported	. .	. .	83	1.1	. .

The baptized membership of St. John Church was quite young. The median age was 27 years. One-quarter are under 15 years of age; in contrast only 6 per cent of the members were 65 years of age or over. Once again the church found fewest of its members in the 20 to 24 years age group; it did not draw as strongly from the 990 adults in this age group in the community as it did from other age categories. Among the adults the largest single segment was composed of women between 35 and 44 years of age. The median age of the church neighborhood was 31.8 years. There were approximately 53 women in the congregation for every 47 men; this difference was slightly greater than that found in the community. Table 25 presents a summary of the age-sex break-down in the church and in the community.

TABLE 25

AGE-SEX BREAK-DOWN FOR
ST. JOHN CHURCH AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD
BY PERCENTAGES

Age Group	St. John		Neighborhood	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
65 & over . .	2.1	4.2	3.0	4.6
55-64	2.5	4.1	3.6	4.2
45-54	4.8	5.8	6.6	6.4
35-44	7.3	9.2	7.9	8.5
25-34	5.5	6.9	7.4	8.6
20-24	1.7	1.8	2.5	2.9
15-19	4.3	4.5	3.2	2.9
10-14	5.1	4.3	3.6	3.2
5-9	6.8	6.3	5.0	4.5
0-4	7.1	5.7	5.8	5.6
Total . .	47.2	52.8	48.6	51.4

B. Recruitment and Community Contact. Between 1945 and 1958 St. John Church more than doubled in size, growing from 731 communicants to 1,559. In the same period of time its baptized membership rose from 1,000 to 2,282 souls. The expansion of its Sunday School was even greater, from 254 to 846 pupils.

But how do these figures appear when one adjusts for size and looks at the recruitment index? St. John's recruitment index of .113 was virtually identical with St. Matthew's. Both are well above average. Its mission outreach--measured by the number of adults won for the church in comparison to its membership strength--was slightly below average for the Type A churches. Its mission index was .023. Only one adult was gained from

the outside for every 47 communicant members; the average for all the churches in the study was one convert for each 30 communicants.

During 1958 the church received 160 new members. Of that number 82 were received by transfer from other Lutheran churches, 51 through the confirmation of children, and the remaining 27 were adult converts. Reducing this to percentages for the last five years, it stands: 55 per cent by transfer, 25 per cent by child confirmation, and 20 per cent by adult conversion.

The church was unusually strong in its service program for the church neighborhood. Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, dramatics, a supervised gym program, a basketball league and summer sports were conducted. The pastors were active in civic associations, had frequent contact with the service clubs, attended the ministerial association, and attempted a degree of cooperative planning with neighboring churches. At the same time it must be said that most of this activity seemed to be directed primarily toward the members of the church rather than toward the community in general. For example, the church sponsored 11 different athletic teams. Four of these were directly associated with the day school. The rest took part in inter-community competitive play, representing St. John Church. Thus these were not activities designed specifically for the service of the general community. Similarly when the pastor was asked about the role of the church in the

neighborhood improvement, he indicated that institutionally the church did nothing; but a number of the church members were "very active in civic affairs." The church had one representative on the local citizens' advisory committee.

C. Ritual Participation. St. John Church had an above-average score on ritual participation. Approximately 45 per cent of its baptized membership attended a worship service on an average Sunday morning; this represents 64 per cent of its communicant members. Following the pattern of other Type A churches, the congregation rated slightly below average in their reception of Holy Communion. They averaged 4.4 receptions per year. A comparison of the figures for ritual participation over the past ten years indicated an improvement during the last four years.

D. Non-Ritual Participation. St. John congregation offered more than three times as many opportunities for educational, social, and recreational participation as did the average church in our study. It has some 33 different organizations, societies and teams. These range from a parent-teachers association with 430 members to a group of ten boys on a junior division basketball team. The rate of organizational membership compared to communicant membership likewise ranked first with a rate of 89.7--approximately 40 per cent above the average. Its rate of Sunday School

attendance (68 per cent) was below average, however, for a Type A church.

E. Internal Administration. The pastor was enthusiastic about the "excellent" level of lay leadership within the congregation. A total of 231 different individuals held leadership positions of some type. The core leadership group was an aggressive group of men between 40 and 45 years of age who held influential positions in the world of business and the professions. The pastor emphasized that the congregation was alert for men characterized by both a "real spirit of dedication and administrative ability."

The rapid growth of the church has necessitated a great expansion of classrooms and new facilities for worship. Approximately four years prior to the study, the church dedicated the imposing new sanctuary described earlier. An able and imaginative type of administration has enabled the congregation to cope with these problems and challenges as they arose. For example, the pastor devised an "elder-deacon" program for the integration of new members and the reclaiming of the old. Two laymen are responsible for the members within a given area, making two to three visits upon every member each year.

Despite able leadership, the church was weak in its financial program. Its members gave less than did those in the other Type A churches. Their average gift was $100.00 a year, just slightly below the average for

all of the churches. Their current debt of $232,000.00 amounted to over $148.00 per communicant member.

F. Pastoral Leadership.[44] St. John Church is served by two pastors, the younger of whom was head pastor at the time of the study. He is an extremely able man, thirty-five years of age. In addition to his regular seminary training, he has completed all of the requirements for a doctorate in theology. He served St. John congregation as an assistant while completing his graduate training. He has been at the congregation for ten years.

In the interview the pastor gave evidence of having an above-average knowledge of the community and of the details of the operation of his church. He was aware of the problem areas which he felt would confront the congregation in the course of the next five years and was already at work to alleviate these conditions. His church has been influential in starting three daughter congregations. At the time of the study they were investigating the possibility of starting still another church west of their own congregation. In each case they have helped the new congregation with leadership and resources.

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[44] Article X of St. John's Constitution spells out quite clearly that which is expected of a Lutheran pastor. The final sentence reflects the fact that the Lutheran pastor exercises "in public office the common rights of the spiritual priesthood in behalf of all." The Constitution and Bylaws, St. John Lutheran Church. Cf. Article X, Section B.

The pastor has exerted strong leadership within the church. He was asked whether or not he exercised ". . . a controlling voice in the deliberations of the council?" He replied:

> I think so. I try not to dominate any of the boards. But I have felt that my relationship with them--the leaders of the congregation--has been one which makes it possible for me to be of help in making suggestions. I have had few instances in which we had any conflict. They usually ask my opinion, and I feel perfectly free to give my opinion. We've had excellent rapport.

He hastened to add, however, that he has welcomed leaders who have differed with him on matters of policy. He cited the case of a man who had been nominated for an office during the preceding year who was "not in harmony" with the thinking of the board or of the pastor. The pastor "very strongly" urged him to accept the nomination; the man subsequently was elected. The pastor concluded:

> . . . as long as you follow the procedure of trying to do it [exert leadership] without giving the impression that you are insisting upon it and do not think that it is the only way it can be done, as time goes by, I hope that enough mutual confidence is built up so that even those who differ from you feel free to express it.

One of the clearest illustrations of the basic attitude of the congregation and the relationship of pastoral and lay leadership was given when the church first faced the question of racial integration. In the year prior to the investigation, a Negro woman with a Lutheran background moved with her family to a home a few blocks from the church. She called the pastor to

ask whether she would be welcome at St. John Church. As the pastor related the incident:

> I told her, 'Of course you are very welcome to come and attend.' Simultaneously I brought the matter to the Board of Elders. The couple was also interested in enrolling their two boys in Sunday School and in enrolling themselves in the adult instruction class. The elders discussed it. Because there was some difficulty with the problem in a neighboring congregation some years ago, we wanted to clarify the stand our congregation would take. There was little discussion. The main discussion asked whether it was really necessary to have such a resolution; we already have our doors open to anybody who wants to come. But, at any rate, it was passed.

Within the congregation one found an extremely active group of people who were realistic about their accomplishments and their weaknesses. They looked forward to even greater service in their community.

St. Paul Church

St. Paul Church was the fifth and final church to fall into the quadrant of churches with high social rank and low urbanization which we are describing as Type A churches. Founded in 1909, St. Paul Church knew slow but steady growth until recent years. In 1940, for example, the congregation was composed of approximately 500 communicants. By 1958 the communicant membership had risen to 1,562 and the baptized membership to 2,360. The Christian day school increased in the same period from an enrollment of 75 to 356 pupils. The Sunday School served 616 pupils.

In 1950 the congregation dedicated an imposing new $300,000.00 church on its property. The church is

located on the main traffic artery in its section of the metropolitan area. The immediate area is represented primarily by smaller single-family dwellings. Their median value was $12,599.00. Along the main street is an area of commercial enterprises. The community is quite stable with 92 per cent of the dwellings owner-occupied. The 1955 ratings indicated the social rank of its neighborhood as 54, an urbanization rank of 16, and a segregation rate of 2. The community is "old suburban"; the area is entirely built up. The social agencies in the area look for no immediate change in the community except for a possible increase in the number of younger families with children.

A. Membership. The members of St. Paul Church clustered within a two-mile radius from the church. Exactly 50 per cent of the communicant members lived within one mile of the church. At the opposite extreme only 5 per cent lived five miles or more from the church. Almost all of the 72 members in this final category lived in a small adjoining municipality. When the congregation became aware of this fact, the leadership began to investigate the possibility of opening a new mission there. The residential pattern undoubtedly would cluster even closer to the church were homes available. However, almost one-half of the land area within a half-mile radius from the church is occupied by two large cemeteries. The church's lay leadership summarized the situation as follows:

St. Paul is exerting a marked influence over a two-mile radius from the church. There are at least three reasons for this. Two of the other Lutheran churches within the two-mile radius belong to another district or another synod, although they are Synodical Conference churches. These two churches are both new in the area and are not exerting too great influence. St. Paul is the only church with a Christian day school within the area we draw members from, with the exception of G_____. This would affect the decision of Lutherans living in or moving into the area--especially if they have children of grade school age--as to which Lutheran church to affiliate with.

TABLE 26

DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNICANT AND SUNDAY SCHOOL MEMBERS OF ST. PAUL CHURCH

Distance	Church Members	Per Cent	Sunday School Members	Per Cent
1/2 mile or less	195	14.0	81	12.4
1/2 to 1 mile	502	35.6	247	37.9
1 to 2 miles	448	31.8	236	36.2
2 to 5 miles	191	13.5	66	10.1
5 miles and over	72	5.1	22	3.4
Total	1,408	100.0	652	100.0

Over 58 per cent of the members' occupations fell into the white-collar category. The largest single group was composed of clerical workers. There also was a large contingent of craftsmen. In comparison to the churches described thus far, St. Paul Church had a far more even distribution of membership over the various occupational groups. There were six different categories which claimed at least ten per cent of the

membership. The differences between the occupational structure of the church membership and its community were not great. The church had proportionately more members in clerical and sales work. It had proportionately fewer craftsmen and laborers.

TABLE 27

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF ST. PAUL COMMUNICANTS IN COMPARISON WITH THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Occupational Group	St. Paul		Neighborhood		Percentage Difference
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Professional	89	13.1	724	9.6	+3.5
Proprietors and Farmers	91	13.3	990	13.2	+0.1
Clerical	143	21.0	2011	26.8	+6.4
Sales Workers	82	12.1			
Craftsmen	130	19.2	1655	22.1	-2.9
Operatives	104	15.3	1264	16.8	-1.5
Domestics	1	0.1	47	0.6	-0.5
Service Workers	22	3.2	350	4.7	-1.5
Laborers	18	2.7	361	4.8	-2.1
Other	. .	. .	104	1.4	-1.4

The proportion of women to men in the community was almost one to one. There were 50.2 per cent males to 49.8 per cent females. The proportion of women to men within the congregation was slightly greater: 53.6 per cent females to 46.4 per cent males. Every age category from 25 years and beyond contained more women than men. The church contained a heavy child population; 34.6 per cent of the baptized members were 14 years of age or under. Less than 5 per cent of the

total membership was 65 years of age or older. The average of the community was slightly higher; for example, 7.5 per cent of the community was 65 years of age or over.

TABLE 28

AGE-SEX BREAK-DOWN FOR
ST. PAUL CHURCH AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD
BY PERCENTAGES

Age Group	St. Paul		Neighborhood	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
65 & over . .	1.4	3.0	3.4	4.1
55-64	2.4	3.7	3.7	3.7
45-54	5.3	6.0	6.5	5.8
35-44	7.9	9.8	8.9	9.5
25-34	5.6	7.5	7.3	8.5
20-24	3.1	3.2	3.1	2.9
15-19	3.2	3.3	3.6	2.6
10-14	6.0	4.7	3.4	3.2
5-9	5.6	6.2	4.7	4.4
0-4	5.9	6.2	5.6	5.1
Total . .	46.4	53.6	50.2	49.8

B. Recruitment and Community Contact. St. Paul Church has gained an average of 143 new members every year. While the number is large, its gross gain rate drops when viewed against its total communicant membership--a rate of .104. This fell into an above-average category for all the churches; it was not as strong as the other Type A churches. Its mission rate of .019 indicated one new member for each 46 communicants, which is one of the weaker scores among the seventeen churches. As is true of most churches in areas which built up

rapidly, the congregation expended most of its energy in gathering Lutherans who moved into the neighborhood and in expanding the church's facilities. Thus over the course of the past ten years, the church has gained exactly half of its members through transfers. Within the past five years another 27 per cent have come through child confirmation. The final 23 per cent were won as adult converts.

The church had a strong service program for its community. It sponsored Boy Scout and Girl Scout troops, summer camping, and a supervised gym program. The pastor was associated with several service and civic clubs. The church has worked closely with the local welfare agencies in making referrals to family services, Alcoholics Anonymous, and employment agencies. Several community organizations make use of the church facilities, including the United Fund and the Khoury League.

C. Ritual Participation. Precise figures were not available from the church regarding its percentage of attendance over the past five years. When questioned about this, the pastor gave the following estimate:

> If we limit that to the church attendance, I would say roughly 45 per cent. If we include the number of people that attend a church function on Sunday, then it would be a larger figure--60 per cent.

In the latter figure the pastor was including those who would attend Bible class or Sunday School, but not a worship service. His estimate of 45 per cent would place them squarely with the other Type A churches

in this area. Their communion rate of 3.3 was low, also in common with the other Type A churches. The pastor was asked how satisfactory he felt the church attendance was. He answered:

> Given the size of the membership only, I would not say that it is satisfactory. Given the size of the membership plus the size of the church, I would have to say that it is satisfactory, for the church is 'packed' for all three services.

D. Non-Ritual Participation. The congregation reported ten different organized groups within the church. These were conventional ladies' aids, men's club, and youth organizations. Their rate of participation was unusually low--33.5. Only three congregations fell below 35 per cent. Two of this number were Type A churches. Confounding the task of analysis, both the highest and lowest rates of non-ritual participation were found in the Type A churches.

The pastor at St. Paul Church judged the Christian day school to be the most effective educational agency within the church, serving over 440 youngsters with a concentrated program of religious instruction. When asked to identify the major obstacles to effective religious education among his members, the pastor was quite outspoken in his judgment:

> Among your adult members the biggest obstacle would be the availability of time in the suburban area. Too many people are concerned too much with the private empire they have built around themselves on their two-by-four lots. They are not as concerned about growing in their own hearts. The suburbanite has what he considers the good life, and the good Christian has a tendency toward feeling this way--that if there is any heaven at

> all, he would like to have that heaven right there in his fixed-up basement. This is what we battle: a materialistic attitude.

E. Internal Administration. A number of related problems have confronted St. Paul congregation within the last decade. First, the growth of the congregation itself has produced a need for additional worship and classroom facilities. Secondly, they have a problem of assimilation. Because of relatively heavy mobility statistically, only 450 of the present 1,560 members were with the church ten years before. This has meant the assimilation of some 1,100 members in a decade. Thirdly, as the church grew, it became necessary to completely reorganize the administration of it. The present pastor came in the latter part of 1953. He found that the church still was attempting to perform its task with the same type of administration utilized while it was a small church.

Since the present pastor's service began, the church has adopted a new constitution and has reorganized completely. Boards were established to handle the problems of assimilation and stewardship. Commenting on their program of lay visitation, the pastor said:

> . . . this has increased in its effectiveness. The voters' assembly has increased in the last four years from 40 to over 100. All of the organizations have doubled their size in the last few years. The Sunday School and day school have doubled in size in the last ten years. This is not all the result of programming. Much of this was the result of purely natural growth from 'move-ins.' But I believe the one thing that accounts for it most of all is the reorganization.

The church's financial picture was quite strong; the average yearly contribution was $131.40, toward a total budget of over $200,000.00. The church employs eighteen full-time staff members; of these thirteen are teachers in the day school.

F. Pastoral Leadership. The present pastor was 37 years of age at the time of the study. As is apparent even from the few quotations included, he is an aggressive leader who tends to look at the facts quite objectively. His earlier ministry had begun in an unpromising area of Canada. Prior to coming to St. Paul Church, he had served a congregation for five years in another city in Missouri. He had returned the initial call to become pastor at St. Paul. One year later he received the call a second time; it was then that he accepted.

The congregation is unified behind his leadership. Like most of the pastors interviewed, he disavowed direct control of the deliberations of the church council. At the same time he candidly admits to a strong influence by working through boards of the church:

> . . . the controlling voice? Yes, I do, but not directly in the council. I would do it through the Board of Elders. . . At first they were very 'picky' but as you gain their confidence, they follow more than they did before. I believe that through them I have a controlling voice in the council and in the voters' assembly, too.

Profile of Type A Churches

The five churches classified as Type A churches are those which occupied the sections of the metropolitan area that people considered the most desirable. While we noted many individual differences in age, size, organizations, and type of pastoral leadership, there emerged a fundamental pattern which we called the Type A Church. To develop this pattern of similarity, we shall look at the five churches in a series of summary profiles.

A. Membership. Table 29 presents the compilation of membership distribution geographically in distance from the church.

TABLE 29

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNICANT MEMBERS IN TYPE A CHURCHES

Church	Distance in Miles from Church				
	1/2 mile or less	1/2 to 1 mile	1 to 2 miles	2 to 5 miles	5 miles & over
St. Matthew	6	33	87	62	69
St. Mark	45	76	197	170	65
St. Luke	145	226	70	46	18
St. John	242	218	664	375	. .
St. Paul	195	502	448	191	72
Total	633	1,055	1,466	844	224
Per Cent of Total	14.9	24.9	34.7	19.9	5.3

In effect, Table 29 treats all of the communicant members of Type A churches as if they were members of one composite parish. In Table 30 we have attempted to permit the individual parish variations to show by giving an average of the percentages for each of the churches.

TABLE 30

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNICANT MEMBERS IN TYPE A CHURCHES BY PERCENTAGES

Church	Distance in Miles from Church				
	1/2 mile or less	1/2 to 1 mile	1 to 2 miles	2 to 5 miles	5 miles & over
St. Matthew	2.3	12.8	33.8	24.2	26.9
St. Mark	8.1	13.7	35.7	30.7	11.8
St. Luke	28.7	44.8	13.9	9.1	3.5
St. John	16.1	14.6	44.2	25.1	. .
St. Paul	14.0	35.6	31.8	13.5	5.1
Average	11.3	24.3	31.9	20.5	9.4

As part of the general profile of Type A churches, we note the strong cluster of members centered in the one-to-two-miles radius from the church.

Secondly, in regard to membership, we ask about the occupational background of people who belong to Type A churches as an indication of their socio-economic status. Table 31 presents the compilation of the five churches.

TABLE 31

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF MEMBERS OF TYPE A CHURCHES BY PERCENTAGES

Church	Professional	Proprietor	Clerical	Sales Workers	Craftsmen	Operatives	Domestics	Service Workers	Laborers
St. Matthew	26.5	38.6	9.7	12.2	. .	7.2	. .	1.1	. .
St. Mark	29.6	15.5	26.4	14.6	4.5	3.2	2.0	4.1	0.5
St. Luke	20.3	24.2	10.7	9.0	17.5	9.0	. .	. .	9.0
St. John	16.9	20.7	18.2	10.6	16.9	9.3	2.1	4.2	1.1
St. Paul	13.1	13.3	21.0	12.1	19.1	15.3	0.1	3.2	. .
Average	21.3	22.5	17.2	11.7	11.4	8.8	0.8	2.5	2.1

Our second conclusion, then, is that the membership of Type A churches is concentrated in the managerial and professional classes.

We turn now to the median age of the membership in Type A churches. A median age of 30 years in any church has been characterized as "full adult." A check of the median ages in the Type A churches according to geographic regions revealed a median age of 18.5 years within the congregations in a rapidly growing county area. On the other hand, the Lutheran churches of the south city had a median age of 34.4 years. Thus the Type A churches were characterized by a mature but not unduly aged group of people.

TABLE 32

MEDIAN AGE OF BAPTIZED MEMBERS
IN TYPE A CHURCHES

	St. Matthew	St. Mark	St. Luke	St. John	St. Paul	Average
Male	34.1	34.1	19.0	26.4	24.0	27.5
Female	37.4	39.9	26.9	30.5	29.2	32.7
Total	35.2	37.8	22.9	27.0	26.9	30.0

Finally we asked about the proportion of women to men in the Type A churches. Table 33 shows the relative percentages.

TABLE 33

RELATIVE PERCENTAGES OF
MALE AND FEMALE MEMBERS
IN TYPE A CHURCHES

	St. Matthew	St. Mark	St. Luke	St. John	St. Paul	Average
Male	48.3	39.4	47.0	47.2	50.2	46.4
Female	51.7	60.6	53.0	52.8	49.8	53.6

The fourth characteristic of the Type A churches was a proportion of women to men of 54 to 46. By way of comparison regionally, the Lutheran churches of the south city had the most disparate rate of 58 to 42. Two of the suburban areas found the closest balance of 53 to 47.

B. Recruitment and Community Contact. In checking the composite index on page 41, we note that a characteristic of the Type A church was to be above average in its rate of gross gains. The average for the Gross Gain Index was .107. All five churches in the Type A category ranked above the average of the seventeen churches surveyed, which was .091. Conversely, four of the five Type A churches fell below average in the proportion of their adult mission gains. Type A churches averaged .025 against the total average of .035.

In the number of activities directed toward the community, the Type A churches were predominantly above average. Four of the five churches were significantly above average. The smallest of the five churches was a deviant at this point, and also in the number of organizations which it had for its own people.

C. Ritual Participation. The average of the ritual participation rate for the Type A churches was 46.2. This was significantly above the general average of 42.5. These churches, then, have a better rate of church attendance on Sunday mornings. On the other hand, the reverse was true of their communion rate. Three of the five churches were below average; the remaining two were average. The average for the five Type A churches was 4.1, over against the general average of 4.7.

D. Non-Ritual Participation. The number of organizations which a congregation sponsored provided the best index of non-ritual participation. Four of

the five Type A churches ranked above average. The smallest congregation was deviant. The variation in the percentage of attendance at organization meetings and the educational agencies was so great that an average is virtually meaningless.

E. Internal Administration. As indicated earlier, the per capita financial gift was the simplest and most reliable of the tests for internal administration. Four of the five Type A churches gave significantly above the average; the other church fell just at the average. The average gift was $143.90, approximately 40 per cent higher than the general average of all seventeen churches.

Thus Type A churches are characterized by a mature membership, composed of slightly more women than men, living within a one-to-two-miles radius from the church. The congregation ranks higher than other churches in gaining new members by transfer. Its attendance at worship is good. The Type A church sponsors a large number of societies and organizations. Its per capita giving is the highest in the area.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF TYPE B CHURCHES

The second quadrant of social areas was characterized by high social rank and high urbanization. While none of the seventeen churches under study fell into Cell D, representing the highest degree of urbanization, four were found in Cell 3C in 1955. We shall view these churches in order to define a second type of church, and attempt to determine to what extent it is fashioned by its ecological setting.

We shall survey the four churches in the order of their social rank. While the average social rank for the Type A churches was 76, it drops to 55 for the Type B churches. The degree of urbanization correspondingly rises: the rate for Type A churches averaged 22 against an average of 61 for Type B churches. While none of the Type A churches had a high rate of segregation, two of the Type B churches were located in areas with a rather high proportion of minority groups.

Table 34 presents a summary of the four Type B churches, indicating their rating on the three dimensions of social rank, urbanization and segregation.

TABLE 34

SOCIAL RANK, URBANIZATION AND SEGREGATION RATING OF TYPE B CHURCHES

Church	Social Rank	Urbanization	Segregation	Area
Grace	63	52	2	3C
Hope	54	58	43	3C(S)
Faith	52	66	2	3C
Atonement . .	51	67	62	3C(S)

Grace Church

Grace Lutheran Church began in 1889 with a meeting of German Lutherans who lived west of St. Louis. Three years later the congregation was organized officially. Since then it has grown into one of the larger Lutheran churches in the St. Louis metropolitan area. With 1,261 resident communicants, it ranked third largest of the seventeen churches in our survey. It has 1,968 baptized members. Its Sunday School serves 392 pupils, and 225 students are enrolled in its Christian day school.

The social rank of Grace Church was 63--above that of St. Paul Church, which was in the Type A category. The urbanization rate, however, jumps radically for the four churches classified as Type B. The urbanization rate for Grace Church was 52; its segregation rate was 2. The present church building is located less than a block from the main commercial artery which runs through an older, self-contained suburban area. The

growth of the metropolitan area years before pushed naturally into this area, so that one is not conscious of leaving the city proper and entering another community.

The congregation defines as its area of responsibility a church neighborhood of 27,000 people. The homes in the immediate area are slightly older, built primarily between 1920 and 1930. Their median value was $12,256.00. The dwelling units are single-family houses and duplexes. There are a few apartment houses. Some of the houses provide furnished rooms or apartments for rent. About 63 per cent of the houses are owner-occupied.

In 1954 the congregation dedicated an impressive new church building. Built of Indiana limestone, the nave provides seating for 574 persons. An adjoining chapel accommodates 40 more. The church's location is not good, however, It is on a long, narrow lot on a secondary street, a short block from the main thoroughfare. The architect attempted to compensate for the poor location which hides the church from the stream of traffic by erecting a 94-foot tower which dominates the structure. The school is housed in an older three-story brick structure adjoining the new church.

A. Membership. We notice an immediate change as we observe the pattern of residence of the Type B churches in contrast to the churches described thus far. The greatest concentration of members lies within a half-

mile radius from the church. For Grace Church we find 24 per cent of the membership in the area referred to; 49 per cent of the communicants live within one mile of the church building. The church has begun to experience a movement of its members from the church's neighborhood, for 33 per cent live from one-to-two-miles from the church. The distribution is similar for the day school. The pattern is not as pronounced for the Sunday School. About 43 per cent of those in the latter group come from a distance of from one to two miles. In view of the age and size of the homes in the immediate neighborhood, one surmises that younger families with children of school age attempt to move to newer suburban areas some distance from the church.

TABLE 35

DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNICANT, SUNDAY SCHOOL AND DAY SCHOOL MEMBERS OF GRACE CHURCH

Distance	Church Members	Per Cent	Sun. School Members	Per Cent	Day School Members	Per Cent
1/2 mile or less	245	23.6	60	15.3	48	21.3
1/2 to 1 mile	255	24.5	108	27.6	62	27.6
1 to 2 miles	339	32.5	168	42.8	63	28.0
2 to 5 miles	140	13.5	56	14.3	40	17.8
5 miles and over	61	5.9	. .	. .	12	5.3
Total	1,040	100.0	392	100.0	225	100.0

At a number of significant points the occupational statuses of the membership of Grace Church did not reflect the general community. The church had drawn more heavily from the professional, managerial and craftsmen-foremen groups than were represented in the community. Sixty per cent of the congregation were in white-collar occupations. The largest single group in the congregation were clerical workers, and yet the church did not serve quite the proportion found in the community. It served only half as many factory-workers as lived in the neighborhood.

TABLE 36

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF GRACE COMMUNICANTS IN COMPARISON WITH THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Occupational Group	Grace		Neighborhood		Percentage Difference
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Professional	88	16.4	712	11.4	+5.0
Proprietors	69	12.8	528	8.4	+4.4
Clerical	128	23.7	1719	27.3	-3.6
Sales Workers	38	7.1	660	10.6	-3.5
Craftsmen	111	20.6	1037	16.5	+4.1
Operatives	44	8.1	1021	16.4	-8.3
Domestics	5	0.9	51	0.8	-0.1
Service Workers	39	7.2	376	5.9	+1.3
Laborers	16	2.9	173	2.7	+0.2

As one looks at the population pyramid of the church, he is struck immediately by its lack of "pyramid" proportions. There is no large population of children, with a gradual tapering off as one moves to

the upper age ranges. Rather the neighborhood showed little variation in the numbers of its residents in the various decades of life. As the pyramid is drawn, the male line is almost straight from the age of ten through fifty-four years. The female line extends slightly between the ages of twenty-five and forty-four years; the largest single segments of the population occur here. In comparison, the church had a larger proportion of children. The "straight line" quality for the adults remained, however. The church had a much larger proportion of women to men than was found in the general community. Within the church the ratio was 59.2 per cent women to 40.8 per cent men; in the community the proportions were 53.0 women to 47.0 men.

TABLE 37

AGE-SEX BREAK-DOWN FOR
GRACE CHURCH AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD
BY PERCENTAGES

Age Group	Grace		Neighborhood	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
65 & over . .	2.4	3.7	3.2	4.6
55-64	2.7	5.3	4.7	5.3
45-54	5.2	7.4	6.4	7.4
35-44	5.4	7.4	7.5	8.7
25-34	5.3	7.8	7.1	8.6
20-24	3.2	4.5	3.2	4.2
15-19	4.3	6.9	3.1	3.2
10-14	4.5	6.3	3.1	2.9
5-9	4.3	6.2	3.8	3.6
0-4	3.6	3.7	4.9	4.5
Total . .	40.8	59.2	47.0	53.0

B. Recruitment and Community Contact. In the past five years Grace Church has received an average of slightly more than 100 new members per year. This has increased slowly from 81 new members in 1954 to 122 received into membership in 1957. In view of the size of the congregation, however, this gives Grace Church a slightly lower gross gain rate, amounting to .043. Its mission rate was .028, under the average rate for the total number of churches considered. Approximately half of its new members came through transfers. Over the past five years 54 per cent came through transfers; 22 per cent were converts from the outside; and 24 per cent were the result of child confirmations.

Although the pastor was unusually sensitive to weaknesses in the parish program and described the church as "not aggressive in the community," Grace was doing a superior in providing a program for the community. Its in mundum index of 36 was as high as that of any church. In addition to the usual Boy and Girl Scout troops, the church provided supervised gym and athletic programs. The pastors engaged in an above-average amount of counseling. Through their records they were able to show a total of 45 referrals in one year to various community agencies. Even more unusual, in comparison to the other churches studied, was the fact that a significant number of the agencies referred cases to Grace Church. The police department, juvenile court, Alcoholics Anonymous, and family welfare agencies

had at one time or another made referrals to the church.

In the pastoral interview one gained the impression that the pastor's knowledge of both the church and the community was superior to that usually encountered. He was aware of the economic and commercial changes taking place in the area; he was sensitive to the special problems of the youth, for example, and knew intimately the strengths of all the other churches in the community. The church was contemplating a program which would include junior citizen groups for the youngsters and a "golden age" club for the aging in both the church and the community.

C. Ritual Participation. Grace Church's ritual participation rate of 45.2 was high for a Type B church. The other Type B churches rated much lower. Unfortunately, records of attendance at Grace were not available for the years between 1952 and 1956. As a result, it is not possible to ascertain how the change of pastorate two years before or the erection of the new $400,000.00 church edifice may have affected these rates. Its communion rate of 6.8 is well above average.

D. Non-Ritual Participation. With sixteen different organizations and societies, Grace Church had the second largest number of church-related activities. The actual membership participation, however, was considerably lower. Approximately 41 per cent of the communicant members were involved in this phase of the

church's life. Its Sunday School rate of attendance--73 per cent--was above average. The present pastor was desirous that each organization make a significant contribution to the spiritual life of the congregation. He described a plan whereby each group would take a close look at their liabilities:

> Each group would come to a council in order to clear their dates and demonstrate to the other organizations the spirituality of their program. Instead of having it come from the top down, we hope to have this spirituality arise from the organizations.

E. Internal Administration. When the present young pastor received the call to Grace Church, the congregation faced a serious financial and delinquency problem. The financial load of a large day school and the erection of the new church building had depleted the group's financial reserves. As the pastor described the situation, they were "practically bankrupt." In addition, the church had more than 400 delinquents on the membership records.

The lay leadership, which appeared to be good, worked with the pastor in improving both of these facets of the church's life. The average yearly contribution remained low at slightly under $95.00. Forty per cent of the congregation gave under $25.00 to the church during the year of the study. Only 10 per cent of the entire membership gave over $200.00 per year. As a result, they carried a debt of approximately $110.00 per communicant member. As was true of many of the churches surveyed, the day school was quite expensive

to operate. Almost 37 per cent of the total budget went for the operation of the Christian day school. The question of whether the school justified this type of expenditure had been a volatile question for the group over a period of time.

F. Pastoral Leadership. At the time of the study the church was served by two young pastors. They were assisted by a student vicar and the part-time aid of a professor from Concordia Seminary. The head pastor was responsible for the administration and counseling. His assistant, who had just joined the staff, was responsible for the youth program and music. The seminary professor was in charge of the evangelism outreach. The church seemed to be very capably organized and administered.

The head pastor was 31 years old at the time of the study. He had served Grace Church for two years, although he had served in a part-time capacity as an assistant some years before. He had very specific ideas of what a church should be and how it should operate. He tended to drive himself personally, and suffered two serious attacks of ulcers within his first two years in the field. As indicated earlier, he was very well versed regarding every detail of the past program and the plans for the future. At one point in the interview he was asked, "What are the particular strengths of the church?" He paused for some time and

finally answered: "That's a good question . . . A minister often concentrates upon the weaknesses, and doesn't give much thought to the strengths. I haven't either."

The pastor felt that because of some of the characteristics of his predecessor, there was a "definitely anti-clerical feeling" within the congregation. Because of this, he attempted to exercise caution in suggesting particular individuals as lay leaders. At the same time he felt that he exercised a controlling voice in the church council:

> There has never been a decision which has gone contrary to the way that I would like to have it when I put my foot down. I try to let them make a decision and guide them in coming to the conclusion which I have already made. I don't believe in raising an issue without knowing the answer I want to get.

One concludes that although the pastor had been with the church for a reasonably brief period of time, he was exerting a powerful influence. Any attempt to understand this congregation must reckon with this influence.

Hope Church

Second in the Type B category is Hope Lutheran Church, rich in background and highly useful for our purpose. The present pastor has served the congregation for a period of forty years. During this time the congregation has changed from a German-speaking group to one which has all English services. The area in which

the church is located has changed from stretches of open fields and much space into a good residential area, and finally became an area of transition, with a large and rapid influx of Negroes after World War II. One is able to see clearly in this case history the reactions of the church to the change in its community.

Some months prior to the study, the old congregation began a branch Sunday School and church some miles away in a new suburban area. The congregation is developing this dual program under the general theme of "one congregation serving two communities." It plans to continue its regular program at the old site, expanding in particular its organized program of evangelism. At the new site church and day school activities will be carried on. The group decided that it would best be served by a common budget and a common set of officers. The one resident pastor also will serve both locations. They emphasized that they hope to:

> . . .maintain a mother and daughter relationship, with mother first helping daughter, and then daughter returning help to the mother, and to continue this relationship through June 1962, when a review of our dual program may indicate further development or adjustment.[45]

At various points we shall present a more detailed description of this church because the type

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[45]The last of six principles adopted by the Voters' Assembly of Hope Church on Monday, April 8, 1957, and reprinted in their Guide Book of 1958.

of changes which one ordinarily can see only by comparing churches in different social and ecological situations are combined within this one church.

The beginning of Hope Church extends back over 115 years to 1844. The original buildings were located in the north area of the city. The church then served the Lutheran population to the city limits. Until 1920 worship was conducted in the German language. Even prior to this date the area was becoming overwhelmingly commercial. During this period, Negro mission work was carried on in Hope's school. Another Lutheran mission was sharing Hope's facilities, beginning work in the English language. Each of these mission endeavors developed into a separate congregation in succeeding years.

In 1920 the chapel-school was dedicated on the present city site. The express purpose was to introduce English, so the previous division of three German services and one English service now had become a double English and double German service. The congregation saw that there was little need for a German church in its former and now highly commercial neighborhood. At its new site the church grew until it numbered 550 communicants and 750 souls.

The third great change came with an invasion of Negroes following the erection of a Negro hospital and a large munitions factory. The members of the church began to move from the neighborhood. As will

be observed later, this same period showed an alarming drop in membership, leadership and finances. By 1955 half of the church's territory had become 50 per cent Negro. It was at that time that the suggestion for a dual parish was accepted. The communicant membership leveled off at slightly under 350 members. The lay leadership is optimistic about the future. They summarized the present picture:

> The upward trend already began before the dedication of the school-chapel in October 1958. Now after four months we are almost up to 400 communicants. Our Sunday School in the old territory, including some 25 Negroes, is almost back to its number at the leveling-off-time. The County Sunday School has 65 and the combined Sunday School shows a 33-1/3 per cent increase, or a total enrollment of 150 plus Bible Class. Since the dedication of the chapel took place, it has become apparent that both Chapel Sunday School and church attendance are increasing consistently.

In 1955--a period of rapid change--the social rank of the church's neighborhood was 54; its urbanization rate was 58; its segregation index of 43 was by far the highest of any church studied thus far. It was therefore a "segregated" region. The area about the church was built up during the 1920's and early 1930's. The houses for the most part are single-family or duplex-type homes. They are predominantly brick dwellings; their median value was $9,400.00. Some 53 per cent of the dwellings were owner-occupied. The church building, although slightly older, still is attractive and well-kept. Of modified Gothic construction, it resembles the parish churches of the English countryside.

It seats 480 persons. Debt-free, funds are set aside regularly to keep the church in good repair. At the same location is an old building originally erected as a church, but which in recent years has served as a school. A church cemetery, covering nearly a city block, also adjoins the property.

A. Membership. Since the two locations operate as one parish, all of the figures will include the small nucleus of members who meet at the new church site. The residential pattern, therefore, was based upon the distance from the location at which the member regularly attended. Typical of a Type B church, the members tended to live within a half-mile radius from the church building. Hope Church follows a similar pattern, except that 27 per cent of their members still live five miles or more from either building. For the most part, this represents those families who moved a greater distance away when the neighborhood began to show a radical change. As will be noticed in the break-down of the family locations of the Sunday School youngsters, the great majority of those attending the old location live within a half-mile of the church. Table 38 gives some indication of the comparative numbers served at each location and their relative distances from the church.

TABLE 38

DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNICANT AND SUNDAY SCHOOL MEMBERS OF HOPE CHURCH AND CHAPEL

Distance	Church Members	Per Cent	Sunday School Members		
			Church	Chapel	Per Cent
1/2 mile or less	113	32.1	36	3	42.4
1/2 to 1 mile	31	8.8	4	14	19.6
1 to 2 miles	59	16.8	5	10	16.3
2 to 5 miles	53	15.0	4	16	21.7
5 miles and over	96	27.3	. .	. .	. .
Total	352	100.0	49	43	100.0

At only two points does the occupational pattern within the church vary from that found in the general neighborhood. The church drew far more heavily from the professional class; 18 per cent of its members represented the professions, while only 7 per cent of the community were professionals. Conversely, while 33 per cent of the neighborhood represented clerical and sales jobs, this was true of only 23 per cent within the congregation. Otherwise the church tended to reflect the occupational pattern of the neighborhood. Its total number of white-collar workers (46.6 per cent) was the lowest for all Type A and Type B churches.

Table 39 presents a summary of the occupational categories of Hope Church communicants and the neighborhood.

TABLE 39

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF HOPE COMMUNICANTS IN COMPARISON WITH THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Occupational Group	Hope		Neighborhood		Percentage Difference
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Professional	33	17.9	562	7.0	+10.9
Proprietors	11	5.9	645	8.0	- 2.1
Clerical	32	17.3	1953	24.2	- 6.9
Sales Workers	11	6.0	710	8.8	- 2.8
Craftsmen	27	14.6	1220	15.2	- 0.6
Operatives	39	21.0	1820	22.8	- 1.8
Domestics	3	1.6	100	1.2	+ 0.4
Service Workers	18	9.8	700	8.7	+ 1.1
Laborers	11	5.9	310	4.1	+ 1.8

In its age-sex pyramid the Type B neighborhood contains few children and tends to form a relatively straight line during the adult years. This was true of Hope's neighborhood. The church, however, had a large child population under the age of five years. Unfortunately, since the figures for the two sites were combined for members under the age of fourteen years, it is not possible to ascertain to what extent this is a function of the new suburban neighborhood--in which we would expect such a pattern. At any rate, 27 per cent of Hope's baptized members are under the age of ten years. The "older" congregation is most apparent among the women of 45 years and above; this group of women alone accounts for 21 per cent of the membership. The median age of the entire membership is 36.2 years.

The proportion of women to men--55 to 45--is slightly higher than that found in the neighborhood.

TABLE 40

AGE-SEX BREAK-DOWN FOR
HOPE CHURCH AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD
BY PERCENTAGES

Age Group	Hope		Neighborhood	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
65 & over . .	2.6	6.9	4.2	5.9
55-64	4.4	8.2	5.4	6.3
45-54	4.0	6.4	6.9	8.0
35-44	4.0	6.6	7.5	8.4
25-34	6.9	8.1	6.9	8.2
20-24	2.9	2.0	3.3	3.7
15-19	2.6	2.2	2.8	2.7
10-14	3.1	1.8	2.8	2.7
5-9	6.2	4.2	3.1	3.1
0-4	8.5	8.1	4.0	4.0
Total . .	45.5	54.5	46.9	53.1

B. Recruitment and Community Contact. Surveying the outreach of Hope Church over the past ten years, we find that it gained a total of 40 people per year. Since this average in the past five years covers figures ranging from 28 in 1954 to 80 in 1958, we present a complete break-down in Table 41. When this figure is measured against existing communicants for the two-year period, we arrive at a gross gain rate of .156, the "highest" rate attained by any church. Since most of this growth was confined to the latter months of 1958 after the church opened its suburban chapel, to give a truer

picture for the original location we used the two-year period prior to the opening of the chapel. Its mission gain was similar: it gained one convert for each 25 current members. Its unusually high rate of .064 became.037 when adjusted for the sudden chapel growth. The two sets of figures highlight the great difference between a chapel in a Type A neighborhood and an older church in a Type B neighborhood.

In contrast to the Type A churches, those churches in the less favored ecological areas tend to receive fewer people by transfer. More of their recruitment must be directed toward the community-at-large in a desire to win members for the church. Over a ten-year period Hope Church has received 30 per cent of its new members by transfer; 35 per cent through the confirmation of children; and the final 35 per cent by mission gains. It was significant to note that this balance changed radically during the year of the study. During this past year, 56 per cent of the gross gain came through transfer. With 40 per cent of the new members coming via adult confirmation, the mission rate remained high. Only three children were confirmed, approximately 4 per cent of the total.

Hope Church ranked below average in the in mundum index; its rate was 16. As a church, the congregation did not plan many activities that were directed toward the greater community. The leaders

indicated that they do have a supervised gym program in connection with their school. Girl Scout troops and craft classes are planned for the future. The pastor recently has been relatively active in working with a community council and in cooperative planning with neighboring churches. Counseling referrals are made regularly to various public welfare services.

TABLE 41

MEANS OF COMMUNICANT MEMBER GROWTH AT HOPE CHURCH 1949-1958

Year	Gross Gain	Transfers Received	Adult Mission Gains	Child Confirmation
1949	40	7	13	20
1950	48	14	21	13
1951	36	10	9	17
1952	49	20	20	9
1953	27	9	8	10
1954	28	9	8	11
1955	28	8	13	7
1956	31	18	7	6
1957	32	11	13	8
1958	80	45	32	3

When the pastor was asked about his participation in community programs, he mentioned the polio drives and the Christmas caroling program. "I don't hold any office. But when this park was dedicated, the improvement committee of the community asked me to head a committee for the dedication of the park. I am an 'in' with the leaders of the community." When questioned about what the church has done with respect

to the particular problems of a transition zone, he replied with the "classic" Lutheran answer: "Not as an organization; but through its membership it is exerting its influence."

C. Ritual Participation. The transitional quality of Hope's neighborhood has manifested itself in the church's low rate of ritual participation. Only 32 per cent of its total membership worshiped on any given Sunday morning. Its communion attendance rate of 2.8 was the lowest of the seventeen churches. The pastor did not seem to be fully aware of the problem. When he was asked to estimate the proportion of the church's total membership attending church on an average Sunday morning, he answered, "Well, I would say our attendance now has improved on the dual program. The average is about 75 per cent." When asked how satisfactory he considered this to be, he replied, ". . . I would say it's quite satisfactory to what we expect."

D. Non-Ritual Participation. With two exceptions, all of the Types B, C and D churches ranked lower on the number of church-sponsored organizations. Hope Church had six organizations, including two choirs. The youth program appeared essentially weak. The lay leaders indicated:

> An organized youth program for the old location is in the planning stage, with the idea of creating a community recreational and handicraft program, using the facilities of the old school building

> when available. An organized Walther League unit [the denominational youth program] with a nucleus of teen-agers has been spearheaded at the new chapel by one of the young service men stationed nearby.

E. Internal Administration. At the old site the congregation has faced the problem of breaking down racial barriers and beginning integrated work. Initially the leadership wanted to sell the church building and move to the suburban area. The pastor was influential in convincing the congregation that it should remain in and continue to serve the changing neighborhood. In commenting on the extent to which this former problem still existed, the pastor indicated that the current need was to "develop a real consciousness of taking an active part in church work on the part of the Negro members . . . and to have the older members accept this help."

Regarding the lay leadership, the pastor evaluated it as ". . . cooperative. Sometimes I think it could be a little more aggressive. But it is a willing, working group." In turning to lay leadership in Type B churches, one is conscious immediately of a different type of individual. Most of the leaders in the Type A churches were successful men in the business world. The majority of them were younger men of maturity--between 35 and 45 years of age. The key leadership at Hope Church was drawn from the following background: a letter-carrier, a superintendent of

construction, a railroad man, an employee at a Chevrolet assembly plant. Three of the men were over 60 years of age; one was over 55 years; and another was in his early 50's. Only two were between 35 and 45 years of age. In contrast the new leadership emerging at the county location tended to be younger, with a higher level of education and better income.

F. Pastoral Leadership. At the time of the study the pastor of Hope Church was 63 years old. He had served the congregation from the time of his graduation from the seminary forty years before. A kindly man, he expressed great satisfaction with a life-time of service in the ministry. After difficult years when the church was losing many members during the transition period, the congregation and he seemed to have new hope. He chuckled and commented, "Well, I must say I feel younger and stronger since we have dedicated the chapel out there. If the Lord gives me the strength, I'd like to see this chapel through."

He has exerted positive influence. One gains the impression that a church located in an area of this type tends to follow its professional leadership with less questioning than in an area of higher social rank. The pastor felt that he did exercise a controlling voice in the deliberations of the council. Perhaps we can see him most clearly if we permit him to comment on the philosophy behind his own leadership and ministry:

> The principle that is guiding us both in our approach to the individual and the group--to our work in building the Kingdom of God--is: (1) the unpredictability of human nature; (2) we always remember the over-ruling providence of God; (3) the all-sufficiency of God's grace, which can change the hearts and minds of His people.

Faith Church

The third congregation illustrative of the Type B church is Faith Church. In 1926 one of the churches included in our study (now located in an area of low social rank and high urbanization) considered the possibility of relocation. Faith Church is the result of this mission project. Instead of serving as a relocation of the former church, it became an independent congregation. Its community has been quite transitional from the beginning. Its rate of mobility is high. The man who was pastor of the church in the 1930's recalls that it was necessary to change two-thirds of the mailing list each year. He reports that even in the late 1930's only five families in the congregation owned their own homes. It was during the depression of the early thirties that the young congregation of ninety communicants made the decision to erect a church building. At a time when unemployment in the area was high, the congregation completed an attractive church building, located on a small lot in the middle of a residential block. By the early 1940's the communicant membership had increased to almost 400 persons.

The current social rank of the neighborhood is 52; its urbanization rate of 66 is the highest of any church in the study; its segregation rate of 2 is low, for the area is almost entirely Caucasian. For a while the people feared that the area might deteriorate through the introduction of rooming houses. The pastor, who left just one year prior to our study, reported: "In the last three years properties are changing hands, but they are being improved." The area is made up of duplex "flats," some single-family dwellings, and some small apartment houses. Most of the dwelling units were erected in the mid-twenties. The median value of owner-occupied dwellings was $15,000.00. Only 30 per cent of the dwellings are owner-occupied, however. Thus the high rate of mobility continues.

A. Membership. Faith Church manifests a strong tendency to draw members from the immediate neighborhood, a characteristic of Type B churches. Over 42 per cent of the communicant members live within a half-mile of the church. A similar number are found in each of the next zones. About 7 per cent live more than five miles from the church. One suspects that virtually all of the members affiliated with Faith Church when they lived in the immediate community. Large numbers move from the area each year; some retain their membership, while others transfer to other Lutheran churches. This is borne out by the residential pattern of the Sunday School members. A Sunday School in almost every case

is more likely to serve the child population of the immediate area. Similarly members with younger children who must be transported to and from Sunday School and other church-related activities are the first to break the old ties and join a church in the new neighborhood. Figuring households, rather than the number of children, we find 79 per cent of the Sunday School households located within a half-mile of the church. Only 7 per cent of the homes are in each of the next three distance categories moving outward from the church.

The young pastor at Faith Church had been there only a year at the time of the study. Of interest, however, is his impression of why people joined Faith congregation:

> For one reason the people live in the area. A second reason would be that they know someone in our church. Thirdly, I would say that one of the comments I have heard is that they like to join a small church over against one that has 1,500 communicant members where they would be lost. Theologically I would say the reasons are simply that they feel it is good to join a church. I have often wondered why. One thing I always make clear in the course of instruction is that they should join the church because they are convinced that this is the church that teaches the Word of God, because they want to serve their Lord in terms of a Christian congregation, and not because they happen to be on a church bowling team.

Table 42 presents a summary of the residential distribution of communicant and Sunday School members of Faith Church.

TABLE 42

DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNICANT AND SUNDAY SCHOOL MEMBERS OF FAITH CHURCH

Distance	Church Members	Per Cent	Sunday School Members (Households)	Per Cent
1/2 mile or less	207	42.5	55	78.7
1/2 to 1 mile	82	16.8	5	7.1
1 to 2 miles	77	15.8	5	7.1
2 to 5 miles	87	17.8	5	7.1
5 miles and over	34	7.1	. .	. .
Total	487	100.0	70	100.0

The church was composed primarily of three occupational groups: 35 per cent were clerical workers; half that number were craftsmen, and a similar number were factory workers. Relatively few were professionals or managers. This was the first church surveyed which drew less than its expected number from the professional class. The neighborhood contained twice as many sales workers as did the congregation. Fifty-one per cent of the workers were in white-collar occupations.

Table 43 summarizes the occupational categories of communicant members of Faith Church in comparison with its neighborhood.

TABLE 43

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF FAITH COMMUNICANTS IN COMPARISON WITH THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Occupational Group	Faith		Neighborhood		Percentage Difference
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Professional	15	5.3	667	8.8	-3.5
Proprietors	6	2.1	30	0.4	+1.7
Clerical	100	35.1	2392	31.5	-3.6
Sales Workers	25	8.8	1230	16.2	-7.4
Craftsmen	50	17.5	1016	13.4	+4.1
Operatives	50	17.5	1531	20.2	-2.7
Domestics	12	4.2	37	0.5	+3.7
Service Workers	15	5.3	470	6.2	-0.9
Laborers	12	4.2	215	2.7	+1.3

Information was not available from the church regarding the age and sex of its membership. In checking the church neighborhood we found a median male age of 33.5 years, 35.3 years for a female, and a median age of 34.5 years for the total population. The largest single contingent comprised those between 25 and 34 years of age. A larger child population was reflected in the increase in numbers of those under the age of five years.

Table 44 presents the age-sex break-down for the neighborhood surrounding Faith Church.

TABLE 44

AGE-SEX BREAK-DOWN OF THE
NEIGHBORHOOD AROUND FAITH CHURCH

Age Group	Male No.	Male Per Cent	Female No.	Female Per Cent
65 & over	920	7.9	1327	10.0
55-64	1197	10.3	1374	10.5
45-54	1533	13.1	1797	13.6
35-44	1826	15.9	2155	16.4
25-34	2041	17.5	2170	16.4
20-24	919	7.9	1144	8.6
15-19	658	5.9	822	6.2
10-14	547	4.9	543	4.2
5-9	749	6.4	777	5.9
0-4	1155	10.1	1062	8.2
Total	11,637	100.0	13,171	100.0

B. Recruitment and Community Contact. Over the past ten-year period the church received a total of 545 new members. It has had a net growth, however, of only 35 members. Its mobility rate is so high that it retains only 6 per cent of those won within a decade. Although the membership reached 521 in 1954, the last four years have seen a slight decrease in communicant membership. This was due in part to "cleaning out" the membership records and to a pastoral vacancy for a period of nine months beginning in July 1957.

The church's gross gain rate of .097 was quite strong. Its mission gain rate of .029 was fair for a Type B church. Three of the four Type B churches demonstrated strength in their recruitment rates. For

ten years the pattern of new membership has remained consistent. Approximately 40 per cent of the new members are received through transfers; another 40 per cent are won as adult converts; and the final 20 per cent come into membership through child confirmations.

While the church seemed to relate more closely to its community in winning new members over a generation of time, it was weak in any type of community program. Its in mundum rate was particularly low in the number of community contacts made by the church. Its rate of 4 was one of the two lowest. In an interview the pastor, who had been at the church for less than a year, was asked: "Do you feel that your church has a special responsibility to serve people living in the immediate neighborhood of the church?" He answered:

> Yes, it definitely has a responsibility to communicate the Gospel to the people in the area. There is a segment of our people who believe we have a responsibility to serve the young people of the community by establishing a type of 'teen-town.' This is something that I have to do a lot of thinking about, frankly. When I first came to Faith, our senior youth group was dying. We had a round table discussion as to why it was dying. Some of the 'kids' seemed to feel that we weren't having enough fun--that the church wasn't supplying enough fun for them. So I raised the question, 'Is this the job of the church?'

The former pastor had participated in a number of Lutheran welfare activities. Thus far the new pastor had virtually no contact with the community. The church itself conducted only one activity which served the local community--a youth night held in the church basement.

C. Ritual Participation. The congregation averaged 36 per cent of its membership in church on Sunday mornings. This was slightly below average for the Type B churches, and well below average for all of the churches studied. Its communion rate of 5.6 was high for the period of the study. In checking through the last two full years of the former pastor's service, the rate was 4.8 and 4.3 respectively. The seminary student who served the congregation on a part-time basis during the pastoral vacancy had stressed the meaning of the sacraments. This may have accounted for the sudden increase in this area. The new pastor felt that prior to the vacancy and during the vacancy, the church's program had deteriorated. Speaking of the church's weaknesses, he said:

> ". . . here is a congregation that has existed for some time, has its buildings, the furnishings, etc. These seem to indicate that it has everything it needs, so that the church in general has become somewhat indifferent and apathetic."

The pastor specifically evaluated the ritual participation as ". . . fairly good. It has lots of room for improvement, but is fairly good in comparison with previous years."

D. Non-Ritual Participation. By and large, only the Type A churches have a larger number of non-ritual organizations. Faith Church also was slightly below average with seven societies. Two of these were recreational in nature. The church had a total of 70-plus individuals involved in a very active bowling

league. Its "dartball" team also has had an active existence for many years. Beyond these two activities, there was no specific men's organization. Its participation rate in these organizations included 46 per cent of the total membership, falling just below average. Its rate of Sunday School attendance on a given Sunday was 50 per cent of its enrollment, also below average.

E. Internal Administration. Faith Church is especially interesting because it had just passed through a period of a pastoral vacancy when the lay leadership to a great extent had to give continuity to its program. The new pastor commented:

> One of the things that helped the congregation was the interim period when the members had to do their own work. The present president has done a wonderful job during this time. Also a few of the key leaders who feel that the congregation must make an impact . . .

The Type B congregation faces a greater problem in lay leadership because fewer of its male members hold positions in the world of business or industry which demand leadership ability. A greater number are white-collar workers or factory workers who have completed only a high school education. The pastor of Faith Church made a useful distinction regarding the quality of leadership in the church:

> If by leadership you mean people who formulate programs on their own, I would say that we do not have too many of these. On the other hand, if you mean people who are thinking about things, although they do not suggest ideas necessarily . . . then the leadership is pretty good.

During the vacancy the president had an unusual influence upon the congregation. He attempted to evaluate the total program of the church and to present this challenge to the people. He introduced a new record system, set up a zone system of responsibility, and activated the elders to make calls on delinquents and new members.

F. Pastoral Leadership. When the new pastor arrived on the scene, the congregation emphasized that it was looking for pastoral leadership. As a result, the pastor feels that he exercises a controlling voice in the deliberations of the church council. He said:

> If I suggest ideas, they will generally listen to them. This isn't to suggest that they are docile. They won't hesitate to question the pastor or anyone, but they will listen. They are willing to try new ideas.

Each of the two preceding pastors had served the congregation for rather lengthy periods of time. It appears that the membership was more appreciative of pastoral leadership after working without such guidance for nine months.

The new pastor is a young man who left a teaching position in a Lutheran high school to serve the congregation. He remains interested in a teaching career at some future period. He has a master's degree in theology. He interprets his present charge as a place where he will gain experience in dealing with people. He said:

> It puts me into a position that you have always been talking and thinking about--in terms of rubbing shoulders with flesh and blood. It frankly rounds out your personality as well as some of the concepts which were in the back of your mind.

The only regret expressed by the pastor concerning his present schedule is that he would prefer more time for study.

Atonement Church

Fourth and last of the churches in the Type B category is Atonement Lutheran Church. The congregation was organized in 1929 as the result of the interest of a local seminary professor. Upon learning that an Episcopal Church was selling its massive old stone church on the near north side of St. Louis, he investigated the possibility of beginning a Lutheran mission. Even then the large single-family homes were being transformed into rooming-houses. A canvass of the area revealed a number of prospective members, so services were begun in the spring of 1929. The congregation officially organized in the following year and purchased the church property for about $30,000.00. In that same year they secured a young seminary graduate as their first pastor.

During the eighteen-year ministry of the first pastor, the congregation grew from the sixty members who were enrolled at the time of the building's dedication to 1,100 baptized members, of whom 780 were

communicants. During the decade from 1948 to 1958, a number of pastoral changes occurred. Two men served the church for a period of five years each. Early in 1958 the fourth resident pastor began his work after a pastoral vacancy. Some years before, in 1952, the congregation reached the height of its growth with 874 communicant members and 1,200 souls.

The community surrounding the church has been involved in a process of slow deterioration from before the period when the Lutherans bought the building. The Episcopal Church had amalgamated with a suburban congregation and moved because it saw the change taking place in its old neighborhood. For a time the population in the community increased. Between 1940 and 1950, for example, it increased from approximately 58,000 to 65,000. A slight decline then set in. In 1957 the population estimate was 62,000 people.

The neighborhoods surrounding the church vary somewhat in their racial composition, but the trend is toward a greater number of Negroes--both in number and in proportion. The degree of transiency is great, as can be seen by the fact that only 16.4 per cent of the dwellings are owner-occupied. Most of the houses were built prior to 1919; their present median value is $10,719.00.

The profile of the church's neighborhood indicated a social rank of 51--the lowest of the nine

churches in the better neighborhoods. Its urbanization rate of 67 conversely is the highest of the nine churches. Its segregation rate of 62 likewise is higher than other Types A and B churches. It is ecologically classified as a segregated area.

A. Membership. In examining the number of communicants who live within the immediate area of the church, we see the familiar Type B pattern emerging at Atonement. Approximately 24 per cent of the members live within this radius. This drops off radically in the next two circles. However, the largest number of members, over 38 per cent, live in the two-to-five-miles zone. A final 18 per cent live five miles or more from the church. This pattern does not hold true for the Sunday School and day school. The patterns for these groups are almost idential, with approximately 64 per cent of the youngsters coming from within one-half mile, another 18 per cent from within the next half-mile, and only 13 per cent coming from the two-to-five-miles zone. The answer lies in the extremely large number of single girls who attend Atonement. Since the church is located in a rooming-house area, it early began to adapt its program to the single worker. Over the years it has attracted larger numbers of people--particularly young unmarried women--through its specialized program. As some of these women moved, they continued to hold membership in Atonement. The pastor pointed out that for 700 members, the office has a

mailing list of 500 addresses; there are relatively few full family units in membership.

TABLE 45

DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNICANT, SUNDAY SCHOOL AND DAY SCHOOL MEMBERS OF ATONEMENT CHURCH

Distance	Church Members	Per Cent	Sun.School Members	Per Cent	Day School Members	Per Cent
1/2 mile or less	140	23.5	75	63.6	81	64.8
1/2 to 1 mile	56	9.4	21	17.8	22	17.6
1 to 2 miles	60	10.1	6	5.2	6	4.8
2 to 5 miles	231	38.8	16	13.4	16	12.8
5 miles and over	109	18.2	. .	. .	. .	. .
Total	596	100.0	118	100.0	125	100.0

Unfortunately the congregation was not able to provide a break-down of its membership by occupations. In the neighborhood, however, we found that the largest single category was made up of clerical and sales workers. There also is a fairly large group of professionals and service workers. About 14 per cent were operatives. These four groups account for 70 per cent of the occupations represented in the community. The pastor indicated that this neighborhood break-down would not reflect a true picture of the church. The church contained, he pointed out, virtually no

professional families. The largest single group was comprised of young women who worked as domestics (household workers). The second largest group was composed of women who worked in offices. From the beginning, the church (under the leadership of the founding professor) appealed to a certain group of people. The congregation was made up largely of younger people who came from the rural areas of southern Missouri and Illinois to work in the city. Often 60 to 70 per cent of the congregation were unmarried people, primarily single girls. This specialized membership has influenced many phases of the church's program.

TABLE 46

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF ATONEMENT CHURCH

Occupational Group	Number	Per Cent
Professional	1,606	16.7
Proprietors	867	9.0
Clerical	1,467	22.9
Sales Workers	745	
Craftsmen	685	7.1
Operatives	1,341	13.9
Domestics	541	5.6
Service Workers	1,559	16.2
Laborers	509	5.3
Not reporting	304	3.3
Total	9,320	100.0

The age-sex pyramid of the congregation supports the interpretation suggested earlier that the residential pattern was a function of the large number of single, employed females. The proportion of women to men was 63.1 to 36.9--the highest proportion of women found in any of the seventeen survey churches. The median age for men was 19.7 years, but for women it was 37.5 years. The median for the whole congregation was also high, namely, 33.1 years. The largest single decade represented in the congregation was found among women from 45 to 54 years of age.

A comparison with the neighborhood highlights a number of significant differences. First, the church was serving a much higher number of children than was found generally in the neighborhood. Thus 29 per cent of the baptized membership was under the age of fourteen years. Secondly, the number of women and men in the community is not as disproportionate as was found among the congregational members. Thirdly, while the median age for women is approximately the same in the church and in the community, there is a difference of 16.7 years among the men. The church was not as successful in winning adult men as in winning adult women. Finally we note that the community was slightly older than the church members. While the median age within the church was 33.1 years, in the community it was 36.7 years.

TABLE 47

AGE-SEX BREAK-DOWN FOR
ATONEMENT CHURCH AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD
BY PERCENTAGES

Age Group	Atonement		Neighborhood	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
65 & over . . .	2.3	6.0	4.1	7.4
55-64	3.0	7.7	4.8	5.9
45-54	4.5	11.1	6.6	7.8
35-44	3.8	8.9	7.3	8.9
25-34	4.7	8.7	8.9	9.9
20-24	2.1	2.6	3.9	6.7
15-19	2.3	3.2	1.6	3.1
10-14	4.8	4.0	1.4	1.5
5-9	5.4	7.1	1.7	2.0
0-4	4.0	3.8	3.2	3.2
Total . . .	36.9	63.1	43.5	56.5

B. Recruitment and Community Contact. Within the last ten years the average number of new members enrolled per year has known irregular but definite decline. During the five-year period from 1949 to 1953, the church averaged 104 new members per year. In the recent five-year period from 1954 to 1958, the church averaged only 73 new members. The greatest change occurred in the number of transfers received and in the number of adult converts. The child confirmations dropped slightly. Within the past five years 54.6 per cent of the new members came through transfers; 32.9 per cent came through adult conversions; and a final 12.5 per cent occurred through child confirmations. In comparing these proportions with the preceding

five-year period, we note no significant differences. While the total membership is decreasing slowly, its avenues of recruitment remain approximately the same. Looking specifically at the recruitment indices, we note that Atonement measured .095 on the gross gain index, which was average for the Type B churches. Its mission index of .029 was slightly below the average of the other Type B churches.

The church had a fair amount of contact with its community. Its in mundum index was 16. The church leaders indicated that in particular the activities for the youth of the neighborhood were well received. Girl Scouts, day camping and various athletic programs were sponsored. The leadership of the church is active in the ministerial association, community council, and the council of social agencies. Because of its location on a main traffic artery, the building is used for a number of inter-parish activities. One of the strongest community contacts has been established through the day school.

In 1950, on its twentieth anniversary, the church dedicated a small building which was erected in order to provide new facilities for the school. The new building adjoins the church. Because of limited staff and facilities, the school has had to restrict its enrollment. Its current enrollment of 128 is about maximum for the rooms available. The school is well known, however, in the surrounding neighborhood. Local

merchants, policemen and general residents have formed a positive impression of the school. Although the school has never canvassed the neighborhood for prospective pupils, it always has a waiting list. Parents are eager enough to enroll their children that they agree to a congregational requirement for attendance at an instruction class in order to understand the religious viewpoint being presented in the school. Over one-third of the youngsters in the school each year come from non-parish homes. This image of the school and church is very significant because of the high mobility rate in the area. The school principal indicated that the school experiences a one-third turn-over in the course of an academic year. And yet over the years the community feels free to turn to the church for help. Both of the former pastors expressed surprise at the frequency with which people in the neighborhood (not officially connected with the church) would turn to the pastor for personal counseling.

C. Ritual Participation. Atonement Church had a ritual participation index of 42.5, which was just at the average for all of the survey churches. Its communion index of 3.7 ranked in the lower quarter of scores. In surveying the average attendance over a ten-year period, one is impressed with the fact that a decreasing membership has not radically affected the actual number of worshipers on a given Sunday. Table 48 presents a summary of the figures.

TABLE 48

ATTENDANCE AT SUNDAY WORSHIP SERVICES
AT ATONEMENT CHURCH
1949-1958

Year	Morning Attendance	Baptized Membership	Average	Vesper
1949	398	1,104	36.1	147
1950	433	1,154	37.5	177
1951	402	1,156	34.8	150
1952	424	1,198	35.4	147
1953	436	1,161	37.6	145
1954	412	1,123	36.6	123
1955	386	1,033	37.4	113
1956	382	925	41.3	105
1957	381	876	43.5	86
1958	351	849	41.3	78

D. Non-Ritual Participation. As indicated, much of Atonement's program was directed to the large number of single young people. The fact that the church sponsored nine organizations or that it had a participation rate of 64 per cent is not unusual in itself. In both ritual and non-ritual activities, however, the church has made a conscious attempt to serve the particular needs of the people in its neighborhood. For example, for many years the church has conducted a program for young people on every Sunday evening--including a Bible hour, supper and an evening of entertainment or education, and concluded with a brief vesper.

The senior young people's society has been important in the life of the church. A few years ago it numbered 200 members and rated as the largest youth

society in the entire synod. This group and the evening women's guild--largely composed of women who after some years transferred from the senior youth group--were active in community services. Since most of the young ladies worked as domestic help and had Thursdays off, as many as four different organizations held their meetings on this one day. The former pastor emphasized that "the program is shaped for and by the people." The present pastor felt that a key problem has been the provision of a professional staff to follow up the referrals made by these women.

E. Internal Administration. It has been axiomatic in urban church studies to view with suspicion lay church leaders who live a great distance from the church's community. It has been felt that such leadership would not be responsive to the changing needs of the community. This presupposition is challenged by Atonement's lay leadership. Eight of the nine elders lived more than five miles from the church. In the church council, composed of seventeen members, seven lived two miles or more from the church. Even the staff of Sunday School teachers, who usually live closer, are spread at great distances. Fifty per cent of the teachers live three or more miles away. By speaking of individual members, the pastor demonstrated that some of the most faithful and intelligent leaders of the church have lived at great distances from the church from the very beginning. Many of these men married young ladies

who originally were members of the church. Few of the men themselves ever lived in the immediate area, and yet they seem desirous of continuing the church's outreach to the immediate community. This combination of facts is reflected to some degree in the giving pattern of the congregation. In the year of the study the members gave an average of $126.78, by far the largest amount given in any Type B church. Much of this was given by people who do not live in the immediate area, but who desire to aid this type of ministry. Its benevolence index of .070 was lower than average, possibly because of the expense involved in the operation of the day school. The leadership strongly felt that finances remained one of Atonement's main problems.

F. Pastoral Leadership. We shall say less about the pastoral leadership of Atonement congregation because a pastoral vacancy was filled during the year of the study. Since the new pastor had been on the scene for such a brief period, he was not interviewed. The former pastor of the church had assumed an executive position on the district level of the church, and he was contacted primarily to corroborate impressions or to offer his interpretations of the data. The professional staff at Atonement consisted of one pastor, a student vicar, four day school teachers, a secretary and a sexton. The pastor made it a principle to work through his staff wherever possible. Thus instead of speaking personally on many issues, he attempted to

discuss these in a staff meeting and have a staff member convey the topic to the appropriate board or committee. The man has a deepening insight into the type of pastoral ministry needed in an area of this type. Two of the on-going problems faced by the leadership of Atonement is the follow-up of members and integrating people into the life of the church. The minister felt that there was a distinct gulf between the "old" members of the church and those in the community served by the church. Members gained from the community felt "inferior" even though the others attempted to extend a warm and natural welcome. The pastor summarized the future of Atonement Church:

> The pattern of life in the area always has made and always will make us different from the conventional congregation. . . We as a congregation feel that it's not for us to solve the total problem of race or class, but simply to serve these people as individuals . . . Our only limitation for the future is the ability to support the program.

Profile of Type B Churches

Churches in the area of highest social rank and lowest urbanization were characterized by a mature membership which lived in a one-to-two-miles radius from the church. The congregations themselves gained most of their members through transfers, had high rates of church attendance, sponsored many organizations, and gave the highest per capita of any of the churches. Now what happens to this profile when social rank remains relatively high, but the factors included in urbanization

increase? We have spoken of these as Type B churches. We shall summarize their characteristics.

A. Membership. In viewing the pattern of residential distribution we note an immediate shift. The greater number of communicant members live within a half-mile of the church. In dealing with the actual number of communicant members, two of the churches had their greatest concentration in the first zone. The third church, which had the highest social rank, had a heavy concentration in the first three zones. The fourth church found most of its present membership living from two to five miles from the church. In looking at the general pattern, however, we may conclude that in terms of total numbers and proportions within the individual congregation, the residential pattern is more closely-knit about the church itself. Where there is a large-scale introduction of a minority ethnic or racial group into the neighborhood, one is more likely to find a concentration of members near the church and another beyond the five-mile mark from the old neighborhood. The rather natural decline in the proportion of members as one moves out from the church does not materialize in this type of situation. When people move from the neighborhood, they apparently move a greater distance to avoid some of the conditions from which they wished to escape. Tables 49 and 50 summarize the residential pattern--first, by the actual number of communicant members; and second, by their proportion within the individual congregations.

TABLE 49

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF
COMMUNICANT MEMBERS IN TYPE B CHURCHES
BY NUMERIC TOTALS

Church	Distance in Miles from Church				
	1/2 mile or less	1/2 to 1 mile	1 to 2 miles	2 to 5 miles	5 miles & over
Grace	245	255	339	140	61
Hope	113	31	59	53	96
Faith	207	82	77	87	34
Atonement	140	56	60	231	109
Total	705	424	535	511	300
Per Cent of Total	28.5	17.1	21.6	20.6	12.1

TABLE 50

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF
COMMUNICANT MEMBERS IN TYPE B CHURCHES
BY PERCENTAGES

Church	Distance in Miles from Church				
	1/2 mile or less	1/2 to 1 mile	1 to 2 miles	2 to 5 miles	5 miles & over
Grace	23.6	24.5	32.5	13.5	5.9
Hope	32.1	8.8	16.8	15.0	27.3
Faith	42.5	16.8	15.8	17.8	7.1
Atonement	23.5	9.4	10.1	38.8	18.2
Average	30.4	14.9	18.8	21.2	14.6

In contrast to Type A churches, then, Type B churches tend to have a greater concentration of their membership within the immediate area of the church.

Type A churches occupationally drew most heavily from the professional and managerial classes. What is the pattern which has emerged for the Type B church? First, there is a radical decrease in the number of professional and managerial occupations. Type B churches contained only 20 per cent in these categories, over against 44 per cent for Type A churches. There is a corresponding increase in the number of clerical workers (from 17 per cent to 25 per cent) and operatives (from 9 per cent to 16 per cent). In summary the largest segment of workers in Type B churches are clerical workers. The information was not available from Atonement Church.

TABLE 51

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF MEMBERS OF TYPE B CHURCHES BY PERCENTAGES

Church	Professional	Proprietor	Clerical	Sales Workers	Craftsmen	Operatives	Domestics	Service Workers	Laborers
Grace	16.3	12.8	23.7	7.0	20.6	8.1	0.9	7.2	2.9
Hope	17.9	5.9	17.3	6.0	14.6	21.0	1.6	9.8	5.9
Faith	5.3	2.1	35.1	8.8	17.5	17.5	4.2	5.3	4.2
Aver-age	13.2	6.9	25.4	7.3	17.8	15.5	2.2	7.4	4.3

The differences in age of members in Type A and Type B churches were not great. We have only three churches in the Type B category which we can use for comparison. These figures were not available from Faith Church. Since the congregation drew heavily from its immediate neighborhood, we used the median age of the neighborhood to complete the profile. That particular neighborhood, however, was considerably older than the other three; therefore we must be cautious in stressing the slight difference which does emerge. Basing our conclusion on the three churches for which we have accurate figures, the average of 30.2 years was almost identical to the Type A churches.

TABLE 52

MEDIAN AGE OF BAPTIZED MEMBERS IN TYPE B CHURCHES

	Grace	Hope	Faith[46]	Atonement	Average
Male	28.7	23.8	33.5	19.7	26.4
Female	29.3	36.2	35.3	37.5	34.6
Total	29.1	30.5	34.3	33.1	31.7

Basing our average upon the three congregations for which we have definite figures, we find that the proportion of women to men was higher in the Type B

[46]Figures for Faith congregation were not available; these are median ages for the neighborhood.

churches. Rounding the figures, the proportion for Type A churches was 54 to 46. For Type B churches it was 59 to 41. On the basis of regional checks, we would expect this difference to be even greater in the Type D churches.

TABLE 53

RELATIVE PERCENTAGES OF MALE AND FEMALE MEMBERS IN TYPE B CHURCHES

	Grace	Hope	Atonement	Average
Male	40.8	45.5	36.9	41.1
Female	59.2	54.5	63.1	58.9

B. Recruitment and Community Contact. The gross gain rate for Type B churches followed a pattern similar to Type A churches. All of the churches in the second category were slightly above average although they did not rank as high as Type A churches. The pattern changed, however, in the remaining half of the index. While all except one of the Type A churches were below average in the mission index, the Type B churches ranked somewhat above them. A clear pattern has emerged. The churches in the more favored residential areas were significantly weaker in recruiting new members from their communities.

Type B churches were weaker in the number of activities directed toward the community. Three of the four churches are below average; the one which scored

significantly higher was the church with the highest social rank.

C. Ritual Participation. While the Type A churches rated high in ritual participation, the Type B churches ranked low for the most part. In fact, the Type B churches ranked lowest in all four categories. Yet there was great variation within the four churches in the Type B category. No consistent pattern emerged for communion attendance. The average for the four churches of 4.7 was above the average of Type A churches. The individual variations were so great, however, that no general conclusion seems warranted.

D. Non-Ritual Participation. The same pattern emerged. The three churches with the lower social rank were below average in the number of non-ritual organizations sponsored by the congregation. The church with the higher social rank followed the pattern of Type A churches with an above-average number of organizations. As indicated earlier, the rate of participation in organizations varied so greatly that it has been difficult to find any relationship to its ecological area. Three of the congregations were average or slightly below average in the rate of participation; the fourth was well above average. A similar variation was found in the Sunday School index.

E. Internal Administration. While Type A churches were well above average in their financial

gifts, the Type B churches ranked lower. One of the four had a higher rating for the year of the study because they were collecting funds for the building of a new chapel. Excluding this special capital funds drive, the pattern remains significantly lower.

In summary, then, the Type B churches have a greater concentration of their people in the immediate area of the church, are composed most heavily of clerical workers, and have a greater proportion of women to men. The churches tend to do a superior job in recruitment, particularly in the area of winning new adult members. At the same time they rank lower than Type A churches in ritual participation, non-ritual participation and in financial giving.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF TYPE C CHURCHES

The third quadrant on the social area scale represented areas of lower social rank and lower urbanization. We have categorized these as Type C churches. It should be made clear that no definite ranking according to a status scale is implied in the four areas. While areas A and D fall at the upper and lower ends of the scale (the differences are observable to the casual visitor to the neighborhoods), the distinctions between B and C neighborhoods may not be quite as obvious. We have placed this quadrant in third position by acknowledging social rank as the more important key.

Using the figures for 1955, we found that four of the seventeen churches included in the study fell into the Type C category. For a summary of their relative positions in social rank, urbanization and segregation, see Table 2 on page 40.

In Table 54 we see that Our Savior Church is close to the bottom in social rank; only one church in the Type D category was located in an area of lower social rank. In addition, these populations experienced a great change between 1950 and 1955. Of the

four churches classified as Type C, only two were in this quadrant five years previously. Messiah Church will provide a second case history of a church in an area with a high segregation rate.

TABLE 54

SOCIAL RANK, URBANIZATION AND SEGREGATION RATING OF TYPE C CHURCHES 1955

Church	Social Rank	Urbanization	Segregation	Area
Redeemer	33	50	2	2B
Christ	33	47	2	2B
Messiah	28	14	81	2A(S)
Our Savior . . .	16	39	3	1B

We again shall consider the churches in the order in which they fell on the social rank scale. The first is Redeemer Church.

Redeemer Church

Redeemer Church had its beginning as a branch school of a neighboring Lutheran church in 1863. Nine years later the congregation formally organized. In its ninety-year history the church has made three moves. It is now located in the near-north section of the city. Because of the presence of other Lutheran churches nearby, Redeemer restricts its "parish lines" to an area of seventy-two blocks.

The church has experienced an uneven pattern of growth. In its first twenty-five years the congregation

grew to 950 baptized members, with 150 children in the school. Later a period of decline set in. In the early 1920's the baptized membership dropped to 582; parish school enrollment was down to 48 children. By 1930 the trend had reversed itself and the church reached a peak communicant membership of 659 members. This occurred four years after the church's last relocation and after the erection of its present building, a solid and substantial edifice that seats 400 persons. In the course of the past ten years communicant membership has declined by approximately 100 persons. At the time of the study there were 556 communicant members.

The neighborhood surrounding the church is approximately two-thirds multiple housing, predominantly of the duplex "flat" type. Most of the homes were built prior to 1919. Only 36 per cent of the homes are owner-occupied. Their median value is $5,700.00. The pastor estimated that between 3,000 and 4,000 people live in the seventy-two block area that makes up Redeemer's parish. The area is predominantly white. The 1950 census indicated only forty-three non-white families in the defined area.

A. Membership. Of the nine churches surveyed thus far, Redeemer has the greatest concentration of members in its immediate area. Some 48 per cent of its communicants live within a half-mile of the church. Because of the presence of other churches, this figure then declines rapidly. Each of the next three zones

averages about 14 per cent of the membership. Some 11 per cent of the members live more than five miles from the church. The concentration of Sunday School pupils is slightly greater, with 56 per cent living within a half-mile and another 23 per cent within the second half-mile radius. The school exhibits a similar pattern.

TABLE 55

DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNICANT, SUNDAY SCHOOL AND DAY SCHOOL MEMBERS OF REDEEMER CHURCH

Distance	Church Members	Per Cent	Sun. School Members	Per Cent	Day School Members	Per Cent
1/2 mile or less	231	47.5	141	55.7	61	53.5
1/2 to 1 mile	66	13.4	59	23.3	32	28.1
1 to 2 miles	74	15.1	22	8.6	12	10.5
2 to 5 miles	66	13.4	31	12.4	7	6.1
5 miles and over	54	10.6	. .	. .	2	1.8
Total	491	100.0	253	100.0	114	100.0

Occupationally the Type C neighborhood is composed primarily of factory workers and clerical workers. Together they account for two-thirds of the population. This situation was not reflected within Redeemer Church. While drawing only half of the factory workers which one would have expected proportionately, the congregation attracted more than its share of craftsmen. Combining

clerical and sales workers, we note that Redeemer was serving approximately the number found in its neighborhood. Over half of those employed are engaged as clerical workers or as craftsmen.

TABLE 56

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF REDEEMER COMMUNICANTS IN COMPARISON WITH THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Occupational Group	Redeemer		Neighborhood		Percentage Difference
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Professional	16	6.4	167	3.4	+ 3.0
Proprietors	8	3.2	195	3.9	- 0.7
Clerical	65	25.9	836	16.9	+ 9.0
Sales Workers	20	8.0	1103	22.2	-14.2
Craftsmen	64	25.5	944	19.0	+ 6.5
Operatives	45	17.9	1149	23.2	- 5.3
Domestics	1	0.4	21	0.4	. .
Service Workers	20	8.0	299	6.0	+ 2.0
Laborers	12	4.7	247	5.0	- 0.3

The age-sex pyramid shows that the largest single segment of the baptized membership is made up of youngsters from five to nine years of age. Exactly one-quarter of the total congregation was composed of those nine years of age and under. At the opposite extreme about 7 per cent were 65 years of age or older. The greatest contrast in age between the congregation and the community occurs in the early years. In the community the largest single category is the age group from 25 to 34 years. As we shall note later, the leadership of the church worked strenuously in an attempt to win the children of the neighborhood. The proportion

of women to men in the congregation is higher than that found in the community.

TABLE 57

AGE-SEX BREAK-DOWN FOR
REDEEMER CHURCH AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD
BY PERCENTAGES

Age Group	Redeemer		Neighborhood	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
65 & over . .	1.9	5.6	3.6	5.1
55-64	5.0	7.1	4.8	4.5
45-54	3.4	7.3	5.9	6.4
35-44	4.1	5.0	7.6	7.4
25-34	6.0	8.2	8.6	8.6
20-24	2.5	3.0	3.5	4.3
15-19	3.2	3.2	3.1	3.7
10-14	4.4	4.6	2.7	3.0
5-9	7.3	7.3	3.7	3.6
0-4	5.4	5.5	4.8	5.1
Total . .	43.2	56.8	48.3	51.7

B. Recruitment and Community Contact. Redeemer Church ranked slightly above the average of all the churches in its gross gain rate of .097. It received one new member for every 10.9 members currently on its membership rolls. It ranked first, however, in the number of adult converts won. Located in an area where it received fewer transfers from other Lutheran churches, to sustain itself it had to recruit more heavily from the community. It received one adult convert for every 22 present communicant members; its index was .054.

The church's contact with the community was rather limited. It rated well below average in the

number of activities directed toward the community and in the percentage of money which it gave for work on the broader front. As a result of this study, the leadership became aware of some of these weaknesses. In the pastoral interview the minister responded to the question regarding weaknesses in the present program by saying:

> Some of the things that turned up on the self-study certainly show where we can grow--such as our church's complete lack of any community service program. . .a lack of participation in anything like that. It is ridiculous when you stop to think about it. . . I think it is important for the church to be serving the community. First because it is a service worth doing; in the second place, because it is a natural platform from which to get acquainted with and draw people into the life of the congregation.

C. Ritual Participation. Redeemer was below average in its rate of ritual participation, specifically in its Sunday morning attendance. Only one of the four Type C churches was above average at this point. Its rate of communion attendance of 6.1 was high. We are beginning to observe, however, that the communion rate seems to be affected rather directly by the emphasis which the individual pastor may give it. Thus the three churches with the highest rates were served by younger men who stressed the importance of the sacrament in the lives of their people. The pastor at Redeemer was aware of the lower rate of participation in worship. "The participation in worship services," he said, "has got to go up!" The congregation has instituted a parish-wide canvass prior to Lent each

year in an effort to encourage greater participation in the worship services. The parish paper also has emphasized this. By holding duplicate services and by providing nursery care for small children, they hope to overcome this problem.

D. Non-Ritual Participation. The three Type C churches with the highest social rank had an average number of church organizations and a participation rate which was just slightly above average. Redeemer was one of these. In generalizing about the effectiveness of his church, the pastor said:

> . . . it seems to me that the people have a high degree of responsibility for the church. They astound me with their willingness to do things. For example, canvassing; they will canvass at the drop of a hat. The full participation of men in the Sunday School and Voters is good. There seems to be strong lay activity which I think is truly outstanding.

E. Internal Administration. A number of significant observations arose concerning Redeemer Church's lay activities. First, the leaders lived close to the church and were a part of its community. The three elders lived within a one-mile radius. Seventy-seven per cent of the council members lived within this radius. They were able to reflect community needs immediately and easily within the church. Secondly, the leadership tended to have less formal education. The pastor indicated that only two leaders had had some college training. The majority had finished high school; a few of them had completed only grammar school. The

officers' occupations fell into the following categories: Two worked in accounting departments of large offices; one sold life insurance; another was manager of a dime store; one was part of a maintenance crew at a large industrial plant; one was a painter; another worked at a warehouse; one was an automobile mechanic.

We were interested in discovering whether there were laymen in the various churches who exerted unusual influence upon the given congregation. Apparently one member of Redeemer has done a great deal toward providing leadership, continuity and spirituality. The pastor described him as "head and shoulders above everyone else."

> He is devout and has a tremendous concern for children of the church. Every Saturday he is out there; he walks from seven to ten miles doing it. And not with a sanctimonious air. He is a tremendous example for other church members. If he asks anyone to do something, they can't turn him down. He is the kind of person who has strong inspirational qualities. He loves organizational work. He will give a deeply spiritual and Christ-centered reason for going out and doing the job. His relationship to the pastor has always been good. Always respectful. He doesn't look for praise. Nothing would interest him less than to have someone pat him on the back.

In terms of efficiency in internal administration, Type C churches ranked at the bottom in terms of communicant giving. An examination of the individual congregations shows six others in which the giving was weaker than at Redeemer Church. Their average per communicant gift was $96.05 during the survey year. The proportion of their giving for use outside the congregation

in the greater community was low; their index of .024 ranked second from the bottom among the seventeen churches. In judging the level of lay leadership, the pastor was enthusiastic. While admitting that there were problems, arising primarily from lack of a broader educational background, he commended them for their interest in and devotion to their tasks.

F. Pastoral Leadership. The pastor of Redeemer at the time of the study was an alert young pastor, 31 years of age. After graduation from seminary, he spent two years as counselor and teaching fellow there. During the final year of this assignment, he accepted a call to a church in New York City which had experienced severe decline for several decades as its community changed. He went because he felt that the inner-city area represented a mission frontier for the church of today. His comparison of the future of the New York church with Redeemer is important:

> I served in New York about three years; and with God's blessings, a modest growth began. Things were in pretty good shape. I had a deaconess who was helping to stabilize the situation. When I got the call to Redeemer, I thought it was pretty much the same type of work, only with the situation somewhat better from the standpoint of recovery and growth. It hadn't declined so terribly. I found out in New York what happens when a congregation goes down real badly. It is just tremendous to try to get it back on its feet again and to try to make any impact on the community. I felt at Redeemer there was a chance to hold the position of the church while it was strong and to meet the transition of the community on the basis of strength rather than weakness.

In describing his approach to leadership, the pastor indicated that he tried not to force his will

upon the congregation. In general it appeared that in the areas of lower social rank, the authority of the pastor was accepted in a far less critical fashion. Because of the lower level of education, there were fewer rivals for leadership positions in the congregation. This pastor, too, indicated that he usually was able to persuade the congregation to take any action which he felt was necessary.

Christ Church

The second church in the Type C category resembled Redeemer in its ecological pattern. Its social rank of 33 was identical; its urbanization rate of 47 was just three points lower; its segregation index of 2 was the same. It was no surprise to find that both fell into social area 2B.

Christ Church has been a large and distinguished church for many decades. Its founder and former pastor was considered the "dean" of St. Louis Lutheran pastors prior to his retirement. Its Sunday morning services have been broadcast for several decades. In spite of change, it continues to serve a large congregation. Because it has not had the expense of a day school, it has given heavily to missions and benevolences.

The church is located in an area represented predominantly by single-family dwellings and two- and four-family brick flats. The homes were built in 1919 and in the early 1920's. Their value is relatively low

now, the median being $8,565.00. Some 43 per cent of the dwellings are owner-occupied. Religiously the area is heavily Roman Catholic; they account for 45 per cent of the population. The Evangelical and Reformed Church is strong with approximately 14 per cent of the population. Lutherans ranked third with 11.5 per cent; Baptists ranked fourth with 7 per cent; and the Methodists followed with 5 per cent. Eleven other denominations accounted for the remaining group, with a relatively small 6 per cent being unchurched.

Erected in 1913, the church building now is nearly fifty years old. It seats 550 persons. The parish building, constructed in 1939, is unusually well equipped with special meeting rooms, parlor, reception room and class rooms.

In the past ten years Christ Church has experienced a slight decline. For almost a decade the church officially listed 1,350 communicants, with 1,800 baptized members. In 1957 it reported 1,100 members with 1,500 souls. Unlike most Lutheran churches which tend to figure membership lists very precisely, Christ Church apparently kept many family names on the rolls for years after the family was no longer active.

A. Membership. Christ Church's membership is beginning to develop a bi-polar pattern typical of churches in older areas of transition from which people have moved great distances to find residential neighborhoods more to their liking. Some 24 per cent of the

members live within a half-mile of the church building. Less than 10 per cent live in each of the next two circles, however. The largest concentration of members live in the two-to-five-miles circle, with some 26 per cent living five miles or more from the church. Apparently the Sunday School does not serve the immediate neighborhood to any special degree currently. The general pattern of distribution is similar, with slightly more children coming from the immediate area and fewer in the next two circles. In the Sunday School more than half of the members come from two miles or more from the church.

TABLE 58

DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNICANT AND SUNDAY SCHOOL MEMBERS OF CHRIST CHURCH

Distance	Church Members	Per Cent	Sunday School Members	Per Cent
1/2 mile or less	322	23.9	69	31.2
1/2 to 1 mile	134	9.9	28	13.2
1 to 2 miles	124	9.2	9	4.1
2 to 5 miles	422	31.3	61	27.1
5 miles and over	348	25.7	54	24.4
Total	1,350	100.0	221	100.0

In common with other Type C churches, Christ Church had relatively few professionals or managers in its membership. It had an unusually large proportion of clerical workers--almost 40 per cent of its membership. It differed from the other Type C churches in

that it did not have a large group of factory workers. Since the church draws from such an extended geographic area, it becomes less meaningful to contrast it with the occupational structure of the neighborhood. The neighborhood, however, also is heavily involved in clerical type jobs; over 34 per cent (larger than any other single category) are thus employed. However, 21 per cent of the neighborhood is engaged in factory work; this contrasts with only 8 per cent within the congregation.

TABLE 59

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF CHRIST CHURCH COMMUNICANTS IN COMPARISON WITH THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Occupational Group	Christ Church		Neighborhood		Percentage Difference
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Professional	85	12.0	502	8.6	+ 3.4
Proprietors	37	5.1	478	7.7	- 2.5
Clerical	276	38.9	2166	34.4	+13.5
Sales	63	9.0			
Craftsmen	131	18.4	989	12.2	+ 6.2
Operatives	56	7.9	1232	21.0	-13.1
Domestics	10	1.4	25	0.4	+ 1.0
Service Workers	40	5.6	587	10.0	- 4.4
Laborers	11	1.5	354	6.1	- 4.6

Christ Church had the oldest membership represented in the survey churches. Its median age of 40.1 years was twice that of the church with the youngest median age. As a result, the familiar "pyramid" had become a near rectangle with a slightly enlarged base

and a heavy top. Thirty per cent of the congregation was 55 years of age or older. In every age category above 25 years, women are more heavily represented than men. At the same time, the over-all break-down of 56.8 per cent women to 43.2 per cent men is not unduly large. When the new pastor arrived on the scene a year before the study began, he expressed surprise at the large number of elderly people in the congregation. He indicated that the church has a list of from eighty to eighty-five invalid and shut-in members who must be visited. The median age for men in the congregation was 35.3 years and 43.3 years for women. This is in marked contrast to the community where the average man was but 24.4 years old and the average woman 26.4 years. The church has not been as successful in continuing to recruit younger people.

TABLE 60

AGE-SEX BREAK-DOWN FOR
CHRIST CHURCH AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD
BY PERCENTAGES

Age Group	Christ Church		Neighborhood	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
65 & over . .	6.5	10.0	3.4	4.7
55-64	5.0	8.0	4.4	6.1
45-54	6.0	9.5	5.8	6.4
35-44	4.4	6.7	3.5	6.0
25-34	5.5	6.5	5.4	6.0
20-24	3.0	2.6	4.8	5.8
15-19	3.0	2.8	4.3	4.6
10-14	2.6	3.1	3.7	3.7
5-9	2.3	2.8	4.5	4.8
0-4	4.8	4.8	6.5	5.5
Total . .	43.2	56.8	45.9	54.1

B. Recruitment and Community Contact. The church's gross gain index of .073 was below the average of other Type C churches, and also below the average of all the survey churches. In examining the figures for a given year, we note great variations from one year to the next. The total number recruited, however, has declined slightly. The average for the past ten years is 88 members per year; the average for the five most recent years dropped to 81 new members per year. On the surface this figure is impressive, but it diminishes when viewed against the total size of the congregation. While the church is receiving approximately the same proportion of transfers as it did some years ago, the proportion of adult converts has decreased slightly. This information is presented in complete form in Tables 61 and 62.

TABLE 61

SOURCES OF RECRUITMENT
AT CHRIST CHURCH
1954-1958

Year	Gross Gain	Transfers Received	Adult Gains	Child Confirmations
1958	90	45	29	16
1957	71	19	26	27
1956	67	26	28	13
1955	95	25	38	32
1954	82	39	29	14
Average	81.0	30.8	28.8	20.4

TABLE 62

PROPORTIONATE SOURCES OF RECRUITMENT AT CHRIST CHURCH 1949-1958

Year	Transfers	Adult Gains	Children
1949-1953	37.5	43.2	19.3
1954-1958	38.0	36.8	25.2

Christ Church's in mundum index of 14 was average for Type C churches. Its typical contacts through Boy Scouts, referrals to family welfare services, and pastoral membership in the Kiwanis Club do not reflect two important factors in this area. In the first place, the new pastor felt that the former pastor was noted throughout the entire church body for the great amount of time he spent in making personal calls in the community. The former pastor was a bachelor throughout his life and had devoted all of his time to the congregation. He personally aided the poor of the community with the resources of food, clothing and money contributed by the members. Secondly, the new pastor has attempted to meet the needs of the growing number of elderly people through the organization of a senior citizens group which is open to members of the community. Although this program is new, it is meeting with great success--having an average attendance of 75 each month.

C. Ritual Participation. Christ Church's proportionate attendance at worship ranked first among

all of the Types B and C churches. Probably this is accounted for by having better-than-average preachers, by the broadcasting of their Sunday worship services, and by having a smaller percentage of children in the total baptized membership. The pastor who founded the church remained its head pastor for fifty years and was acknowledged as a strong preacher. The communion rate of 3.5 was low; perhaps it again reflects a program which centered about a service which was broadcast. It seemed significant that when asked about the "most effective agency for education" in the congregation, the pastor referred to the weekly sermon because of the large numbers who hear it and because he viewed it as a teaching device.

D. Non-Ritual Participation. Christ Church ranked slightly above the other churches in the Types B and C categories in number of organizations. It had an average rate in terms of actual participation on the part of its members. Among its organizations is a St. Andrew's Guild, composed of both men and women who meet monthly for a supper meeting and then call on church prospects. The congregation also sponsors a group specifically for the business women of the congregation.

E. Internal Administration. In enumerating its officers and leaders, the congregation named 102 members, amounting to 12 per cent of the communicants. Many of the leaders live some distance from the church. On the board of directors, for example, only one of the eleven

men lived within a mile of the church. On the board of elders, five members lived within two miles of the church. The new pastor felt that there was a significant difference in the spirituality of the men on the board of elders and those on the board of directors. He felt that the board of directors was composed of men elected to their position because of their success in their respective professions. "They are able leaders," he said, "but not necessarily able and capable as they should be as a church group. Sometimes they could be a little more charitable in their views." In describing the source of the problem, he concluded:

> I feel the reason for the difficulty was that there was not the vision, the faith, the confidence--the fact that they really put Jesus Christ first in their ideas and in their minds.

As measured by the two indices of internal administration, the church was strong. Its per capita giving ranked first among the Type C churches. Its contribution to benevolences ranked far above all of the other churches. In 1958, of a total budget of $81,000.00 the church gave $37,000.00 to the work of the church beyond the local congregational level. One danger which confronted the older church became apparent as one examined its financial structure. Some $30,000.00, approximately 32 per cent of the total budget, was contributed by people 65 years of age and over. This relates directly to our earlier question of recruitment.

F. Pastoral Leadership. The influence of the pastor who founded the church some fifty years before still was strong even though he had become pastor emeritus one year before. He still was engaged in part-time service for the congregation. The new pastor is a highly capable young man, 38 years of age. Since his graduation from the seminary, he has served churches in California, New Jersey and New York. He has shown imagination and leadership in instituting the senior citizens' program and a special week-long mission emphasis which attracted city-wide interest. He follows in the train as a strong pulpit man, spending between twelve and fourteen hours a week on sermon preparation. Perhaps we can see the relationship to pastoral leadership most clearly in a specific case in the area of liturgy. In 1941 the Synodical Conference, of which The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod is the largest member, adopted a new hymnal and uniform order of service. Christ Church remains one of the few churches across the country which has not adopted this "new" hymnal. The pastor gives two reasons: First, the founding pastor preferred a simpler order of service in the interest of gaining people with Methodist and Baptist backgrounds. Secondly, he felt that the simpler order of service was preferable for the weekly broadcasts. While the new pastor much prefers the liturgical orders used in the majority of the other Synodical Conference churches, the lay leadership informed him upon his arrival that

they preferred to keep the order of service which they had. The pastor expressed the hope that he would be able to introduce the "new" hymnal and eventually utilize the full service:

> I don't want to try to put something over on the people; I only want to have the other order of service if they are at all willing to have it. I do not feel that I should be a pope or a dictator. I realize that one must be a leader, and one must have certain standards and principles, and one must try to help the people in their worship; but I do not feel that I should simply order things around, especially when they have voiced themselves so vociferously against a formal order of worship.

At the same time the present pastor feels that he exercises a controlling voice in the deliberations of the official organization of the church:

> Not the controlling voice by any means, but the men have been very kind in respecting me, the position which I uphold, and have followed along in some areas where they may not have fundamentally agreed.

Messiah Church

Perhaps the question which dominated the study of Messiah Church, third in the Type C category, was: Should this church ever have been started? In the autumn of 1926 a small group of St. Louis Lutherans in the northwest section of the county began holding services in their homes. A small mission was begun; they were furnished with a portable frame chapel, and one of the city churches placed the down-payment on their present church site. In the ensuing years many pastors served the small mission for brief periods. By 1940 the church numbered only 72 communicants. During the

next decade the membership slowly increased to 125. When the pastor was killed in an automobile accident, seminary students served the small group during the next years. We shall examine the ministries of the last two resident pastors in more detail under the final section, pastoral leadership.

One reason for the slow growth in membership has been the church's confined area of service. The church serves a small depressed white area on the border of a large Negro "shanty" town. The immediate neighborhood of the church is "spotty." Some of the homes are small and inexpensive, but neat. Nearby is another area with poor roads and unpainted shacks. In another direction is a section of new housing in the $20,000.00 category. Most of the neighborhood developed during the years of the depression when people were searching for inexpensive housing. Since the census tract includes a larger area than the small pocket served by Messiah Church, the figures must be used cautiously. The median value of owner-occupied dwellings in the broader area is $11,000.00. The social rank of the area was 28, urbanization 14, and segregation 81. The area rated as a segregated tract.

Within the past ten years the membership of the church has experienced wide fluctuation. The low was reached in 1950 where there were only 80 communicants; the high was reached in 1957 with 189 communicants. The largest number of souls enrolled were the

350 members present in 1956.

In 1955 the congregation erected a functional new building which provides space for 250 worshipers, class rooms and an office. Unable to finance the type of building they desired, the congregation secured plans for a pre-cut building. Under the leadership of the former pastor, they built much of the church themselves. The members put in 10,000 hours of volunteer help and cut the cost of the building from approximately $40,000.00 to $30,000.00.

A. Membership. Messiah was a typical Type C church with over 45 per cent of its membership living within a half-mile of the church. It also had fewer of its members living at greater distances from the church. This pattern was even more pronounced in the Sunday School with 78 per cent of the pupils living within one mile of the church.

TABLE 63

DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNICANT AND SUNDAY SCHOOL MEMBERS OF MESSIAH CHURCH

Distance	Church Members	Per Cent	Sunday School Members	Per Cent
1/2 mile or less	84	46.4	76	58.9
1/2 to 1 mile	30	16.5	25	19.4
1 to 2 miles	43	23.7	27	20.9
2 to 5 miles	10	5.5	1	0.8
5 miles and over	14	7.9	. .	. .
Total	181	100.0	129	100.0

Occupationally most of the church's membership was drawn from clerical and sales workers and craftsmen. According to the lay leadership's evaluation, the church seemed to draw more heavily from craftsmen than from factory workers. One wonders whether a slight upgrading of occupation occurred in the minds of the workers as they classified themselves as "craftsmen" rather than "operatives." One is cautious because of the pastor's impression of the occupational backgrounds of his members as primarily "industrial workers and truck drivers." The other reason lies in the fact that the church collectively had an "inferiority complex" and felt that socially they were below surrounding Lutheran churches. Using the members' own classification of their jobs, however, the largest number of workers were craftsmen or foremen.

TABLE 64

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF MESSIAH COMMUNICANTS IN COMPARISON WITH THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Occupational Group	Messiah		Neighborhood		Percentage Difference
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Professional Proprietors	3	3.9	350	7.7	- 3.8
Clerical and Sales Workers	23	29.9	1374	30.2	- 1.0
Craftsmen	28	36.4	1047	23.0	+13.4
Operatives	10	13.0	1151	25.3	-12.3
Domestics	. .	. .	45	1.0	- 1.0
Service Workers	4	5.2	337	7.4	- 2.2
Laborers	9	11.7	246	5.4	+ 6.3

The age-sex pyramid for Messiah Church was one of the most erratic in the study. First, there is great disparity between the ages of the men and women, which is not a new phenomenon, however. While the men averaged 16.2 years, the women averaged more than ten years older--27.6 years. The pattern is even more erratic when one attempts to determine in which categories the membership tends to cluster, for the two largest groups are boys between the ages of 5 and 9 years and women between the ages of 34 and 44 years. Upon closer examination, however, a pattern does become apparent. In his interview the pastor commented upon the relative youth of the congregation and the proportion of males to females:

> Here we have a very bad situation and always have had. It is correcting itself a little bit over the past years, but we have an extreme over-balance of women to men. The reason for this was the mass surge into the area. Many children came because their mother brought them, and then the mother was brought into Bible Class. Finally, many became members of the church. I would say it is pretty high--about 63 per cent are women. It's much higher than you would find in most situations.

Judging by the almost equal number of men and women, either the situation has changed very radically or the pastor was over-generalizing from the number of women in their twenties and thirties. The neighborhood presents an almost classic example of a population of workingmen's homes: a moderate number of children, a strong middle adult segment, and a rapid dropping-off in the upper reaches of life. The congregation,

however, was not serving its proportionate share of the older individuals.

TABLE 65

AGE-SEX BREAK-DOWN FOR
MESSIAH CHURCH AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD
BY PERCENTAGES

Age Group	Messiah		Neighborhood	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
65 & over . .	1.7	2.1	4.5	4.8
55-64	2.1	2.1	4.8	5.1
45-54	2.9	3.8	6.0	6.3
35-44	8.8	11.1	7.2	7.0
25-34	5.0	9.7	7.2	7.3
20-24	2.1	2.6	3.4	3.7
15-19	4.1	2.9	3.3	3.6
10-14	6.2	4.7	3.6	3.5
5-9	11.7	6.4	4.6	4.4
0-4	5.0	5.0	5.1	4.6
Total	49.6	50.4	49.7	50.3

B. Recruitment and Community Contact. Surprisingly Messiah ranked first with the highest gross gain rate among the survey churches. This may be due partially to its relatively small size. The discouragement of the pastor with the work in the parish had not prepared us for this possibility. Nevertheless with its score of .146, the church had the highest total rate of recruitment. We were even more amazed to find that the same situation occurred in the church's mission gain rate; it ranked first. During the past five years the church averaged 38 new members per year. For a congregation of only 180 communicants, the average is unusually good.

Of this number an average of 38 per cent entered the church as adult converts.

At the same time the church's in mundum index of 12 was relatively low. Except for sponsoring a Boy Scout troop and making a few referrals to public welfare services, the church had limited contact with the community. The Sunday School and summer vacation Bible school, however, were quite successful for a smaller congregation. The chairman of the self-study committee, who seemed to have unusually clear insight into the parish, indicated how the manpower diverted to the actual construction of buildings had influenced their outreach:

> In 1954 Messiah started erecting a new church; and due to a limited membership and income, most of the work was performed by the church members. In 1957 Messiah found it necessary to expand its Sunday School facilities. Much of the labor on this improvement program was performed also by the members. These two programs accounted for much of the man hours which would have normally been used for the evangelism program. However, this has also had its bright side. It has resulted in Messiah's becoming a friendly church, as members became better acquainted with one another working side by side.

The pastor complained about the small area which Messiah was able to consider as its area of responsibility. He admitted that perhaps he had exerted more effort toward drawing people to the church from the perimeter of the parish where new and better housing was being erected. He felt, however, that after some of these people from a slightly higher socio-economic background visited the church and sensed the social level of

the people, they tended to join one of the two larger Lutheran churches--each about a mile from Messiah. He expressed a vague hope that Messiah might also serve the Negroes in the area adjoining their community, but the people are much opposed to such a move. Summarizing both problems, the pastor said in discouragement, "It's a real problem and I don't know how to overcome it. Some of this social segregation is almost as bad as racial segregation." He foresaw a continuation of the same problems in the future.

C. Ritual Participation. In its worship attendance, Messiah Church's rate of 41.6 was about average. Because of the young pastor's stress upon the reception of Holy Communion, its participation rate of 8.1 was far above that of the other survey churches. The pastor, who served for two years after his graduation as an instructor in homiletics at the seminary, was a good preacher. In discussing the church attendance, he commented on the high proportion of visitors. In some of the largest survey churches, an average Sunday morning found only ten or twelve visitors. In this small parish the pastor estimated that there were from 25 to 30 visitors per Sunday. He felt that many people appreciated the worship service, but were skeptical about joining the church. By way of explanation he said: "Frankly, a lot of them just don't like the people and some of them are worried about the stability

of the church." He was distressed by the attendance of his own people:

> I have been very dissatisfied with it. We have stressed it and stressed it--the importance of regular worship. It has improved somewhat in the last months. But I'm certainly not satisfied with the attendance of the members.

D. Non-Ritual Participation. With nine organizations and a participation rate of 55.8, the church ranked strongly with the other Type C churches. Its Sunday School rate was below average. The pastor was asked which agency of the congregation he felt was most effective in educating the people. He indicated that when he first arrived at the parish, he considered the Sunday School the most effective because of its comparative size and the large proportion of unchurched children. The Vacation Bible School also was considered by the members to be a major educational agency. The pastor now questioned his earlier judgment:

> I am sure that the Sunday School is effective in terms of bringing the message of Jesus Christ to many children. But in a deeper, more permanent sense, which would come closer to the heart of the parish in bringing God to adults, would be the adult instruction class to which we continually invite members and guests. I wonder if this area isn't stronger and more effective than the Sunday School and Vacation Bible School, which often isn't much more than baby-sitting.

E. Internal Administration. The leadership of the congregation was composed of a foundry foreman, laborers, a truck driver, an automobile mechanic and an embalmer. Most of the leaders lived in the immediate vicinity of the church. The pastor felt that the

key leadership weakness lay in the backgrounds of the men themselves:

> We do not have the caliber of person who is a leader in our neighborhood in our parish. A fellow who operates a punch press in a factory is not a leader or he wouldn't be operating a punch press; he would be a foreman. We just don't have business men who have their own businesses. We don't have vice presidents of large companies. We don't have insurance agents or lawyers or doctors. They are industrial workers; they just aren't leaders.

The pastor emphasized that the people are willing to follow, but that they need a leader. The layman whom we quoted earlier had a calm and mature appraisal of the situation from the other side. He interpreted several of the leadership problems: First, the congregation had had difficulty in retaining a pastor; for a period it was served by students. He felt that the church was being used as "a stepping stone to bigger things for its pastors." Just as a close relationship was established, he indicated, the man would receive several calls and leave. Secondly, he felt that it had been a "pastor's church." Many of the members had entered the church as adults, and they remained quite dependent upon the pastor to interpret policies and programs. The rapid turnover of pastors brought in men of different abilities and concerns:

> In line with the idea of a 'pastor's church,' some of its ministers were very good, some just fair, and others just not too good. By this I mean their handling of the membership, attitudes and policies. With this trend from the best to a poor administrator and back to the very best again, the membership was even more confused and divided. . .

The layman emphasized, thirdly, the need for lay leadership training. A lack of program has resulted in the re-election of the same group of men as officers over the years. He felt that the physical building of the congregation was complete for the present. This was the period for devoting more time to the spiritual welfare of the church.

F. Pastoral Leadership. At the time of the study, the young pastor who had served the church for three years had just accepted a call and was ready to leave. He was leaving with a sense of discouragement and defeat. Although he had an excellent academic background, he expressed bewilderment at how he might handle such a church:

> I have had interest in the problems of these poorer social areas, but I frankly don't know how to approach them. I have had no particular success these last three years. So the only position that I can view is the old typical middle-class church. . .

As indicated earlier, he felt strongly in competition with the neighboring Lutheran churches for people of a higher social background. In the immediate neighborhood Messiah appeared to be in competition with a Baptist Church. At every point he sensed tension. The Baptist Church was running a type of program and working with a theology which he rejected; at the same time they were successful. His work was confined to a social area in which he felt alien; yet he sensed the responsibility of bringing the Gospel to these same

people. He was very friendly with the two neighboring Lutheran pastors, yet they were "competitors" for members. Theologically he feared a "social work" approach to the community, yet thought that possibly this was the community's greatest need. He was in despair over the lack of lay leadership, but was discouraged in offering further leadership training. He feared that the educational agencies, which were successful numerically, were not accomplishing a deeper spiritual task. He loved a richly liturgical service, but knew many of the people complained about this. He made calls in the community and attended some community functions, yet questioned whether these were not a waste of time. He dreamed of integrating with a failing Negro mission in the "shanty town," but knew his people would not accept the suggestion. He spoke of the large number of unchurched people within the immediate community, yet felt exceedingly limited by narrow parish boundaries. He was serving a church, the wisdom of whose founding he seriously doubted.

In none of the churches was the tension between the ecological area and pastoral leadership more distinct than in this situation. The laymen felt that the greatest need for the future was to have the assurance of a pastor that he would remain for a period of at least five years.

Our Savior Church

The fourth and final Type C church is a congregation that was founded in 1849. Our Savior Church is an old church with a proud history. Its people claim that their church has founded more daughter congregations than any other Lutheran church in the city. The community in which the church is located has grown old. Most of the homes were erected in 1919 or before. The median value of the houses was $5,600.00. Mobility in the area is extremely high, with only 7 per cent of the dwellings owner-occupied.

The social rank of the community was 16, the second lowest rank for the survey churches. Its urbanization rate of 39 was not unduly high. In view of its location in north St. Louis, the direction in which the Negro movement has occurred in the last two decades, their segregation rate of 3 is surprisingly low but quite accurate. There are no Negroes in the immediate area of the church.

The church facilities at Our Savior are larger than needed at the present time. The church was built in 1895 and the school in 1930. The church seats 1,000 persons. Keeping the buildings in good repair has become a financial chore for the congregation in recent years. The two buildings are appraised at over $500,000.00.

A. Membership. Recent years have seen a slow but steady decline in church membership. Between 1945 and

1958 the baptized membership declined from 1,800 to 1,400 members. The communicant membership dropped from 1,010 to 624.

Virtually half of the members of Our Savior lived within the first half-mile radius from the church. The pattern which we have seen developing for Type C churches is apparent: few members live in the second and third zones. But there is a final concentration of members in the two outer circles. As expected, the pattern is even more clear in the school enrollment. Some 79 per cent come from within the first mile. This is further intensified in the day school enrollment, where 76 per cent come from within a half-mile of the church.

TABLE 66

DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNICANT, SUNDAY SCHOOL AND DAY SCHOOL MEMBERS AT OUR SAVIOR CHURCH

Distance	Church Members	Per Cent	Sun. School Members	Per Cent	Day School Members	Per Cent
1/2 mile or less	397	48.2	124	68.5	97	76.4
1/2 to 1 mile	56	6.8	17	9.4	10	7.8
1 to 2 miles	80	9.7	17	9.4	16	12.6
2 to 5 miles	165	20.0	23	12.7	2	1.6
5 miles and over	126	15.3	. .	. .	2	1.6
Total	824	100.0	181	100.0	127	100.0

Our Savior Church had its expected heavy concentration of members in clerical and factory jobs. Rather unexpectedly, a fairly large number of professionals were included in its membership. The neighborhood had an overwhelming number of its people in factory jobs. No other category came close to this 36 per cent level. Proportionately the church was over-represented in the professions and clerical jobs, and under-represented in factory workers.

TABLE 67

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF OUR SAVIOR COMMUNICANTS IN COMPARISON WITH THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Occupational Group	Our Savior		Neighborhood		Percentage Difference
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Professional	36	11.0	127	3.0	+ 8.0
Proprietors	29	9.0	180	4.3	+ 4.7
Clerical	73	22.4	655	15.9	+ 6.5
Sales Workers	13	4.0	202	4.9	- 0.9
Craftsmen	51	15.6	630	15.4	+ 0.2
Operatives	71	21.8	1487	36.2	-14.4
Domestics	6	2.0	30	0.7	+ 1.3
Service Workers	30	9.0	346	8.4	+ 0.6
Laborers	7	2.1	343	8.3	- 6.2
Unreported	10	3.1	113	2.8	+ 0.3

The age-sex pyramid of Our Savior Church is small at the base and for the age group from 35 to 44 years; the rest is fairly straight. The entire pyramid is heavier on the female side. In more precise figures the median age for males was 29.7 years, for females 34.0 years, and for the entire baptized membership 32.2 years.

The sex division was approximately 59 per cent female to 41 per cent male. In comparison the neighborhood had a larger number of very young children, did not have a depressed number in the decade of 35 to 44 years, and had a much closer balance of women and men.

TABLE 68

AGE-SEX BREAK-DOWN FOR
OUR SAVIOR CHURCH AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD
BY PERCENTAGES

Age Group	Our Savior Church		Neighborhood	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
65 & over . .	4.0	8.1	3.9	5.2
55-64	4.8	6.9	4.5	4.9
45-54	5.2	8.1	5.7	5.9
35-44	3.3	5.9	7.2	7.4
25-34	6.4	7.1	7.7	8.3
20-24	2.5	3.5	3.9	4.5
15-19	3.2	3.5	3.2	3.2
10-14	3.9	4.9	3.3	3.2
5-9	4.2	5.7	3.8	3.7
0-4	3.9	4.9	5.3	5.2
Total . .	41.4	58.6	48.5	51.5

B. Recruitment and Community Contact. Our Savior Church's gross gain index of .079 was well below the average of all the churches except those in the Type D category. In recent years it has averaged 67 new members per year; for a church with over 800 communicant members, this ranked low. While Type C churches ranked first in the mission gain index, Our Savior congregation ranked at the bottom of the four churches in this category.

Within the past five years, approximately 42 per cent of its new members were recruited as adult converts. The pastor articulated the problem faced by so many of the older churches which once had an ethnic concentration of German members:

> It is difficult for these people who have been brought up in the traditions of Lutheran congregations to feel too much of an obligation to their neighbors in the community, especially when the neighbors are on a little lower economic level than they are. Our community outreach is fair. We are getting more and more of our people--even old members--used to the idea that we have a wonderful mission field here.

During the period of the study, a third St. Louis city congregation finished negotiations for beginning a dual parish program, as observed in the case of Hope Church. The pastor of Our Savior indicated, however, that while the congregation owns a beautiful piece of property in the county next to their cemetery, there was "at the moment absolutely no thought of relocating."

The church had a strong <u>in mundum</u> rating, above the average of all the churches. One concludes, however, that most of these activities were directed toward the existing membership of the church. The leadership indicated that there is no <u>organized</u> program directed to the community. When asked how the congregational members felt about serving the neighborhood itself, the pastor illustrated by referring to their playground. Some of the officers felt strongly that the playground must be locked every night. The pastor smiled and

commented that he disagreed--as did the neighborhood children, for they climbed over the fence and used the facilities anyway. "I believe that we could maybe achieve some mission results if we would simply let them use it and take down the fence. . . Unfortunately our people are not too keen about it."

C. Ritual Participation. Our Savior Church ranked at the bottom of the Type C churches, both in worship attendance and in communion participation. Only one-third of its baptized membership was in worship services on a given Sunday morning. Many felt that this slowly was beginning to affect morale. When asked about the main problems faced by the church over the last five years, the pastor struck far below the level of attendance: "It is a problem of survival--that is the cold, hard fact."

D. Non-Ritual Participation. The church ranked below average in the number of its organizations and the proportion of people which attended the societies. Its Sunday School attendance, however, was much stronger. All of the Type C churches emphasized that one of their key problems was integration. Because of the turn-over of members, it was difficult to integrate people into the life of the congregation before they moved on. The church was currently working on a plan of increased home visitation on the part of the lay members themselves. "Home visitation still is the best way of building a church," the pastor concluded.

E. Internal Administration. Not one of the twelve elders at Our Savior Church lived within two miles of the church! Only one of the four council members lived within three miles of the church. This highlights the problem of leadership serving and visiting in a community which is not its own neighborhood. Almost 20 per cent of the members (163 individuals) were involved in leadership positions within the church; this obviously represented a leadership strength. There was a feeling that the church had suffered somewhat from a shortage of manpower, however; and that as a result, many tasks were performed by men who were not as qualified to serve. A second problem which hampered them was a need to change some of the antiquated by-laws of their constitution. Changes were being made at the time of the study to bring these regulations in line with current need.

Of the thirteen churches considered thus far, Our Savior Church ranked second from the bottom in the level of its per communicant giving. Its average gift was $83.16 per year. Only 55.7 per cent of the congregation pledged to the budget. While others undoubtedly gave, it apparently was not as systematic or as great as an $85,000.00 budget demanded. In spite of the declining membership, the yearly budget and giving continued to climb slightly over the past five years.

F. Pastoral Leadership. The pastor was 46 years of age at the time of the study and had served Our Savior Church for five years. He was working with the Armed Services Commission of the denomination prior to serving this congregation. He was aware of the type of problems which this congregation would present:

> I was aware of the problems I would face at an old congregation in an area which some people think is deteriorating. I have not found it too much that way. I knew what I was getting into, and am not sorry that I took this call.

While believing with virtually all of the other pastors that he exercised a controlling voice within the parish, he emphasized the need for working with the lay group:

> In the spiritual realm I think if people are given a challenge, their work is outlined for them, and if they are trained in it, they will do an outstanding job.

As an outside observer, one gained the impression that in the past the pastor and congregation had run a conventional parish program typical of an average middle-class neighborhood. During the period of the study, there seemed to be the first awakening to the possibility for newer and more imaginative approaches to the changing type of person moving into the neighborhood of the church. This was evident in the pastoral interview where at one point the minister spoke of the neighborhood as "an average middle-class area" with "an average level of income" and "people holding down good, responsible jobs," and reflected the fact that

"no changes" were taking place in the neighborhood. At other points the members were described as "mostly factory workers," and a net loss had a "demoralizing effect" on the congregation; and the neighborhood was characterized as one in which it is "extremely difficult to do mission work." Perhaps this is a period of flux in which the total congregation will gain a clearer conception of itself and its role in the community.

Profile of Type C Churches

We have described four different churches which had in common one characteristic: they were located in areas of low social rank and low segregation. All were relatively old churches; all but one were over fifty years of age. In size, in pastoral experience, in budget, and in facilities, there were great differences. Our question is to what extent this common ecological background will produce an overriding characteristic or pattern which will be uniquely Type C. We shall answer this question in terms of the six broad areas described.

A. Membership. As we moved from Type A through Type C churches, we have found a steady increase in the proportion of communicants who live in the immediate area of the church. Only 14.9 per cent of those in the Type A category lived within a half-mile of the church; and this increased to 28.5 per cent in Type B. For Type C it is 36.3 per cent. When dealing with the percentages as represented in each congregation, this

becomes even more pronounced, with an increase from 11.3 per cent to 30.4 per cent, and in Type C, 41.5 per cent. A second characteristic has emerged. While the percentages were relatively without pattern in the Types A and B churches after one moved beyond the first residential circle, in the Type C churches a bi-polar pattern has begun to establish itself. There is a concentration of people in the immediate area of the church. There are relatively few members in the next two circles. However, an increased number again live beyond three miles from the church. Table 69 presents the composite membership for the Type C churches. Table 70 presents an overview of their percentage distribution.

TABLE 69

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNICANT MEMBERS IN TYPE C CHURCHES BY NUMERIC TOTALS

Church	Distance in Miles from Church				
	1/2 mile or less	1/2 to 1 mile	1 to 2 miles	2 to 5 miles	5 miles & over
Redeemer	231	66	74	66	54
Christ	322	134	124	422	348
Messiah	84	30	43	10	14
Our Savior	397	56	80	165	126
Total	1,034	286	321	663	542
Per Cent of Total	36.3	10.0	11.3	23.3	19.0

TABLE 70

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF
COMMUNICANT MEMBERS IN TYPE C CHURCHES
BY PERCENTAGES

Church	Distance in Miles from Church				
	1/2 mile or less	1/2 to 1 mile	1 to 2 miles	2 to 5 miles	5 miles & over
Redeemer	47.5	13.4	15.1	13.4	10.6
Christ	23.9	9.9	9.2	31.3	25.7
Messiah	46.4	16.5	23.7	5.5	7.9
Our Savior	48.2	6.8	9.7	20.0	15.3
Average	41.5	11.6	14.4	17.5	14.9

We noted an increase of clerical workers in Type B churches. This increase was even greater in Type C churches. Approximately 30 per cent of the workers in Type C churches were in clerical jobs. There also is an increase among the craftsmen. These two categories characterize the Type C church occupationally.

TABLE 71

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF MEMBERS
OF TYPE C CHURCHES BY PERCENTAGES

Church	Professional	Proprietor	Clerical	Sales Workers	Craftsmen	Operatives	Domestics	Service Workers	Laborers
Redeemer	6.4	3.2	25.9	8.0	25.5	17.9	0.4	8.0	4.7
Christ	12.0	5.1	38.9	9.0	18.4	7.9	1.4	5.6	1.5
Messiah	3.9	. .	29.9	. .	36.4	13.0	. .	5.2	11.7
Our Savior	11.0	9.0	22.4	4.0	15.6	21.8	2.0	9.0	2.1
Average	8.3	4.3	34.5		24.0	15.1	1.0	6.9	5.0

Although there is a tremendous variation in the median ages among the four churches in the Type C category (from 22 to 40 years), no consistent pattern emerges. When the four median ages are averaged, they are identical to the Type B churches and are very close to the Type A churches. Ecologically we are not able to predict an increasingly aged membership among the churches in the less favored areas as we had anticipated.

TABLE 72

MEDIAN AGE OF BAPTIZED MEMBERS
IN TYPE C CHURCHES

	Redeemer	Christ	Messiah	Our Savior	Average
Male	22.6	35.3	16.2	29.7	28.5
Female	30.9	43.3	27.6	34.0	33.9
Total	27.6	40.1	22.0	32.2	30.2

Type C churches fell between Types A and B in the proportion of women to men. In round figures there were 56 women to 44 men.

TABLE 73

RELATIVE PERCENTAGES OF
MALE AND FEMALE MEMBERS
IN TYPE C CHURCHES

	Redeemer	Christ	Messiah	Our Savior	Average
Male	43.2	43.2	49.6	41.4	44.4
Female	56.8	56.8	50.4	58.6	55.6

B. Recruitment and Community Contact. Type C churches had a strong gross gain rate, ranking behind Type A churches. In their mission gain they ranked first.

C. Ritual Participation. The pattern is clear that the breaking point in ritual participation fell immediately below Type A churches. While their rate was quite high, those of Types B, C and D churches were uniformly low. Although the variation in communion rates was not great, Type C churches rated first.

D. Non-Ritual Participation. The Type C churches averaged fewer organizations per congregation. As one moves from A to D, there is a clear pattern of fewer organizations and a decreasing amount of membership participation. Slightly more than half (51.9 per cent) of the members were active in one or more parish organizations.

E. Internal Administration. Type C churches ranked at the bottom in level of financial giving. Their leaders primarily were men with fewer years of formal education and who were engaged in occupations which demanded fewer leadership skills. These men looked to their pastors more completely for leadership than did those in Type A churches.

In summary, Type C churches experience an even greater concentration of membership in the immediate area of the church, but also have a developing concentration of members at a greater distance from the church.

Their members are primarily clerical workers and craftsmen. They do the most effective job in winning new adult members. Their financial giving is poor; the level of leadership is low. Their ritual participation rate is similar to all churches, except those in the most highly favored areas.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS OF TYPE D CHURCHES

The final quadrant of churches were those that were characterized by low social rank and a high level of urbanization. If area A represented the most desirable living area, then area D represents the most undesirable. Four of the survey churches were located in quadrant D.

TABLE 74

SOCIAL RANK, URBANIZATION AND SEGREGATION RATING OF TYPE D CHURCHES 1955

Church	Social Rank	Urbanization	Segregation	Area
Zion	46	60	97	2C (S)
Bethany	32	53	2	2C
Calvary	27	51	61	2C (S)
Bethlehem . . .	12	56	2	1C

In looking at Table 74, one immediately is struck by the fact that the social rank of Zion Church is higher than that of the Type C churches. The answer lies in its unusually high rate of segregation, by far the highest in the study. Zion is the only predominantly Negro congregation among the seventeen studied.

Calvary Church also is located in a segregated tract. A great contrast between the two sets of churches is seen on the segregation index. Urbanization scores are quite close. Again there is great variation in social rank.

Zion Church

Zion Church is unique not only among the St. Louis Lutheran churches, but in the entire synod--because it represents the first attempt on the part of the Synodical Conference to establish a Lutheran church among middle-class Negroes. The hope prior to its inception in 1927 was to establish a self-supporting Negro congregation in a stable neighborhood of home-owners. In its more than thirty years of history, it has become a stable, self-supporting congregation.

In 1927 a small but very attractive brick building was erected. It seats approximately 150 people. This has remained as the congregation's church building, although at the present time it is too small to serve adequately. The community about the church has slowly begun to deteriorate. Most of the houses were built prior to 1919; their median value was $5,551.00. Some 30 per cent of the dwellings are owner-occupied. Those who have lived in the neighborhood for longer periods observe that the rate of mobility is increasing steadily. The last decade has seen an increased number of children in the early school years.

A. Membership. Although Zion's leadership spoke frequently of how the congregation had changed from a neighborhood type church to one with a dispersed membership, over 43 per cent of the members still lived within a half-mile of the church. The northward movement of the Negro population in St. Louis is apparent when one looks at the two zones adjoining the church. However, one discovers very few members beyond the two-mile mark from the church. Those who do come from as far as five miles away, for example, live in older suburban areas where there has been a nucleus of Negro residents. All of the Sunday School members come from within a one-mile radius from the church.

TABLE 75

DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNICANT AND SUNDAY SCHOOL MEMBERS OF ZION CHURCH

Distance	Church Members	Per Cent	Sunday School Members	Per Cent
1/2 mile or less	225	43.1	145	88.4
1/2 to 1 mile	119	22.7	19	11.6
1 to 2 miles	134	25.3	. .	. .
2 to 5 miles	30	5.7	. .	. .
5 miles and over	16	3.2	. .	. .
Total	524	100.0	164	100.0

Zion Church does not represent its neighborhood occupationally. From the beginning it has appealed to the professional and white-collar Negroes of its area.

Thus 38.2 per cent of its members are professional people. The second largest category is composed of clerical workers; and this is followed by almost 19 per cent service workers. The neighborhood reversed this picture: the largest single category was composed of service workers, followed by operatives, laborers and professionals. Because of a pastoral vacancy during the period of the study, a layman (the president of the congregation) was interviewed. When asked the main reasons for people joining Zion congregation, he said:

> There are a number of Negroes that would join the Lutheran Church because it is not a 'shouting' church. The same people would join, I am sure, because of the very process of instruction through which they understand thoroughly what they are joining. These people are seeking a certain kind of church. I think they would join our church over the Presbyterian and Episcopal Churches (which are of the same socio-economic level) because of doctrine and the efficiency of our church. They also enjoy the service itself.

TABLE 76

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF ZION CHURCH COMMUNICANTS IN COMPARISON WITH THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Occupational Group	Zion		Neighborhood		Percentage Difference
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Professional	116	38.2	472	11.5	+26.7
Proprietors	11	3.6	99	2.4	+ 1.2
Clerical	78	25.6	370	9.0	+16.6
Sales Workers	3	1.0	87	2.1	- 1.1
Craftsmen	24	7.9	264	6.4	+ 1.5
Operatives	. .	. .	767	16.3	-16.3
Domestics	11	3.6	463	11.3	- 7.4
Service Workers	57	18.8	998	24.4	- 5.6
Laborers	4	1.3	485	11.6	-10.3
Not reported	. .	. .	72	1.7	

We are limited in our description of the age-sex proportions within Zion congregation for they provided information only for their communicant members--those above 13 or 14 years of age. However, the church does appear to be weak in winning young adults. Comparatively few are in the age bracket of 15 to 24 years. Secondly, one notes the heavy proportions of women in the 25 to 54 years age group. The over-all proportion of women to men is 6 to 4. It is interesting to note that the neighborhood also reflects a noticeable increase of women in the area who are over the age of 25 years. The neighborhood, however, has a better sex balance: 54 per cent women to 46 per cent men.

TABLE 77

AGE-SEX BREAK-DOWN FOR
ZION CHURCH AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD
BY PERCENTAGES

Age Group	Zion		Neighborhood	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
65 & over	4.7	4.7	1.8	1.8
55-64	5.5	8.3	4.5	4.5
45-54	5.5	12.7	6.5	7.3
35-44	8.3	13.3	7.3	9.5
25-34	9.0	15.2	7.2	10.0
20-24	3.4	3.6	3.0	4.5
15-19	3.2	2.0	3.0	4.5
10-14	0.1	. .	3.7	3.7
5-9	. .	. .	4.5	3.7
0-4	. .	. .	4.5	4.0
Total	40.2	59.8	46.0	54.0

B. Recruitment and Community Contact. In the course of the past five years, Zion has averaged 42 new members each year. The vast majority were won as adult converts; for in the five years of the gross gain total of 212 members, only 16 came by way of transfer. Translating this into percentages for five years, we find: Mission Gain, 79.7; Transfers, 7.6; and Child Confirmations, 12.7. While Type D churches ranked fourth in rate of gross gain, Zion (with its higher social rank) fell considerably above two of the remaining churches in this category. Its mission gain rate ranks among the upper quarter of the survey churches.

Zion Church contains within itself a number of striking contradictions. Strengths and weaknesses often are found in kindred areas. Thus its in mundum index of 12 is below average--and this for a church with a heavy concentration of professionals. In the interview with the president of the congregation it became apparent that the question of community contact has been a point of discussion among the members. As a director of the Young Men's Christian Association, he indicated that he felt the church had a special responsibility to serve people living in the immediate neighborhood of the church; but he added that he represented a minority view within the congregation. ". . .by their actions they have shown that there has been no regard."

Of special interest was his answer to the question: "Does your church seem to be in competition with

other churches?" While there were several other churches in the area, he answered:

> No; we might be in competition with the Catholic Church, but that's the only one. I think there is a certain class of people that gravitates to the liturgical church. The other churches have no real strength except the Catholic Church; they have a school.

C. Ritual Participation. In view of some of the other strengths of the congregation, one is surprised initially to see Zion's very low rate of attendance in morning worship: 33 per cent of the baptized membership. Apparently the leadership of the congregation was not aware of this weakness. The president, who was informed on both the church and the community, felt that their attendance was "fairly satisfactory," and estimated it at about 70 per cent of the membership. As noted earlier, most Lutheran churches ordinarily compute attendance figures on the basis of communicant membership. The president of Zion further estimated: "I have an idea that of our total membership of 570 communicants, there are about 200 who are not regular attenders."

There was a great fluctuation in participation of Holy Communion; for example, the average for the year 1957 was 9.8, by far the highest rate of any individual congregation. In 1958 they averaged only 4.6. The latter rate may be due partially to the pastoral vacancy during that period.

D. Non-Ritual Participation. Type D churches ranked lowest both in the number of congregational organizations and in the participation of their members. While Zion Church had eight organizations, a fairly average number, their rate of membership participation of 26 per cent was among the very lowest of all of the survey churches. In speaking of the effectiveness of the congregation, the president touched upon its organizations:

> I would say that its internal organizations are effective. They are not the strongest, judging from the experiences I have had in other places. But they are effective and benefit the individuals who participate.

E. Internal Administration. The lay officers greatly missed the leadership of a pastor during the period of the vacancy. In the interim they were served by seminary students, one of whom they subsequently called as resident pastor. Historically the church was served by two very able and dedicated pastors. Both were leaders in the human relations movement within The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. As a result, the pastor played a most important role in the life of Zion. The president indicated that the church had been grateful for this strong leadership. The present lay leaders appear to be capable men. Among them is a school principal, a teacher, a civil engineer, a superintendent of custodians, and a postal employee. In recent years the church has tended to select younger men for its leadership positions; the present key leaders are between the

ages of 45 and 63 years. When asked whether any laymen exercised unusual influence upon the congregation, the president answered:

> Yes, there are at least two men on the Board of Elders who have had a high degree of influence. This would be seen in the numerous occasions on which people would call on them, and in the way a vote would be influenced following an expression by these men. They represent the two groups within the church. One represents the group that is well educated. The other is the spokesman for the group that is not. They usually have been a good influence.

F. Pastoral Leadership. Since there was no resident pastor during the period of the study, we must content ourselves with one general observation. The lay leadership judged their pastors as having had a controlling voice in the past. They further felt that the vacancy pastor was giving no suggestions, but was relying on lay leadership. The influence of a pastor was highlighted by the fact that although their second-last pastor had left the area in 1947 (eleven years previously), his name and his ideas still were very much alive among the people.

Bethany Church

The second Type D church was Bethany Church, organized in north St. Louis in 1904. Like the other churches located in areas of rapid change and decreasing social rank, Bethany has experienced a slow but steady decline in recent years. Within the last ten years the baptized membership has fallen from 757 to 520; communicant membership in turn has dropped from

526 to 375 in 1958. While the day school and Sunday School have experienced a slight decline, it was not as great as that experienced by the church itself.

Although the area about the church is old, it appears to have stabilized in recent years. The dwellings were built prior to 1919; their present median value is $5,580.00. With only 26 per cent of the homes owner-occupied, the mobility of the area is great. Duplexes and four-family flats fill the major part of the neighborhood. Bethany's social rank was 32. Its degree of urbanization was quite high--32. Its segregation index remained low--2. Judging by the pattern of Negro mobility, however, this probably will rise sharply in the coming years.

A. Membership. Bethany had a moderate concentration of membership in the immediate area surrounding the church. About 64 per cent of the members lived within one mile of the church. Almost one out of five, however, lived more than five miles away. The Sunday School likewise had a heavy concentration of its membership (77 per cent) living within one mile of the church. The day school showed a similar residential pattern.

Table 78 presents a summary of the residential distribution of Bethany Church's communicant members and its Sunday School and day school pupils.

TABLE 78

DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNICANT, SUNDAY SCHOOL AND DAY SCHOOL MEMBERS OF BETHANY CHURCH

Distance	Church Members	Per Cent	Sun. School Members	Per Cent	Day School Members	Per Cent
1/2 mile or less	129	37.7	80	57.1	49	48.0
1/2 to 1 mile	91	26.6	28	20.0	26	25.5
1 to 2 miles	23	6.7	14	10.0	11	10.8
2 to 5 miles	40	11.7	18	12.9	16	15.7
5 miles and over	59	17.3	. .	. .	. .	. .
Total	374	100.0	140	100.0	102	100.0

The greatest number of workers within the congregation were employed in clerical jobs; the second largest group were factory workers. Together they comprised 60 per cent of the occupations represented. In the community these same two occupations ranked first, but the proportions reversed themselves. In the neighborhood the largest number were factory workers, with sales personnel ranking second. Generally the church rather closely represented the community in terms of occupations.

Table 79 contrasts the occupational categories of Bethany congregation with those found in the neighborhood.

TABLE 79

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF BETHANY COMMUNICANTS IN COMPARISON WITH THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Occupational Group	Bethany		Neighborhood		Percentage Difference
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Professional	10	4.2	165	3.8	+ 0.4
Proprietors	14	5.9	215	4.9	+ 1.0
Clerical	83	35.3	1031	23.7	+19.2
Sales Workers	18	7.6			
Craftsmen	22	9.3	753	17.3	- 8.0
Operatives	57	24.2	1509	34.5	-12.3
Domestics	2	0.8	33	0.8	. .
Service Workers	17	7.2	352	8.1	- 0.9
Laborers	13	5.5	299	6.9	- 1.4

In the age-sex pyramid three groups of people were heavily represented in the congregation. There was a large group of children from 5 to 14 years of age, a moderate number of persons between 35 and 44 years, and a rather large proportion of members over 65 years of age. The median age for males was 26.5 years, for females 34.0 years, and for the entire membership 31.0 years. There were 58 women for every 42 men within the church. The neighborhood did not reflect the large child population. Proportionately it had a large block of people between the ages of 20 and 34 years. While its male population was slightly older (33.0 years), the female median age was almost the same as within the church (34.1 years).

TABLE 80

AGE-SEX BREAK-DOWN FOR
BETHANY CHURCH AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD
BY PERCENTAGES

Age Group	Bethany		Neighborhood	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
65 & over . .	5.8	8.5	4.4	6.4
55-64	3.7	5.8	4.5	5.5
45-54	3.5	5.8	5.8	5.4
35-44	5.2	7.9	7.0	7.1
25-34	3.9	5.8	7.7	7.9
20-24	2.4	2.8	4.0	4.2
15-19	3.9	3.3	3.0	3.0
10-14	6.5	5.2	2.9	2.9
5-9	4.3	8.1	3.5	3.5
0-4	4.0	3.8	5.4	5.3
Total . .	42.0	57.0	48.7	51.2

B. Recruitment and Community Contact. Among the Type D churches, Bethany scored the highest on both the gross gain and mission gain indices. During the past ten years, the church gained an average of 44 new members each year, of whom 25 were received as adult converts. In this same period 56 per cent of the new members were gained as adults; 21 per cent came through transfers; and 23 per cent entered through child confirmation. As with most of the churches in the poorer areas, Bethany has experienced heavy losses. The loss rate was 59 per cent--which means that for every 100 communicant members on the rolls ten years previously, only 41 still were members at the time of the study. This rate is quite high.

Bethany's *in mundum* index of 26 was well above the average for all of the churches, which was 17.9. The congregation sponsored a supervised gym program and an athletic program in conjunction with its youth organization. While the pastor took no part in community oriented programs, the church did make a number of referrals each year to community agencies. There appeared to be in effect a fairly aggressive evangelism program under a five-man board. Customarily an annual religious census was taken in the neighborhood of the church.

C. *Ritual Participation*. The church's strength also was evident in its worship attendance. Its rate of 54.6 ranked first among all the Types B, C and D churches. Its rate of communion participation was about average. While one suspects that possibly the figure of their baptized membership was slightly inflated in 1950 and 1951 (names often are carried on the rolls for long periods after a person becomes totally inactive or whose address becomes unknown), the proportion of worshipers had improved between 1950 and 1958.

Table 81 provides a summary of the attendance record at Bethany Church from 1950 through 1958.

TABLE 81

SUNDAY MORNING WORSHIP ATTENDANCE
AT BETHANY CHURCH
1950-1958

Year	Attendance	Baptized Membership	Percentage of Attendance
1950	297	760	39.1
1951	308	803	38.4
1952	302	750	40.2
1953	303	735	41.2
1954	341	735	46.4
1955	333	759	43.9
1956	324	720	45.0
1957	312	591	52.8
1958	294	520	56.5

D. Non-Ritual Participation. The congregation sponsored seven organizations, which was average for Type D congregations. With 48 per cent of its membership taking part in these societies, Bethany ranked slightly above the average of the other Type D churches. The organizations included the customary societies divided along sex and age lines. At the time of the study 93 children were enrolled in the day school. Each year one-third of the entire budget of $45,000.00 was required to support the school's operation. In looking toward the future when membership may be still lower, the lay leadership debated the role of the school:

> In all probability reduced activity, if and when it becomes necessary, would be suggested in the Christian Day School program. In our opinion, however, such a program, while temporarily prolonging the life of the church would eventually doom the existence of the church. The majority of members are the

> product of the Christian Day School. Likewise many parents have been obtained through this agency. We would be losing our finest opportunity in this area for the obtaining of new members. In our opinion, therefore, the school program--while necessarily expensive to maintain--provides our best insurance for the future.

E. Internal Administration. Of the 375 communicant members, 80 different people hold leadership positions in Bethany congregation. This amounts to 21 per cent of the membership. Six of the twelve church council members live within a half-mile of the church. This seems to reflect the general neighborhood. Financially the group did unusually well, giving as much as any survey church, excluding those in the Type A category. While the leadership emphasized that their members live in moderate circumstances, the total giving has continued to climb. The church faced two problems, however, which seem to be rather typical of the church in the transitional zone. First, a minority of people were supporting the entire program. The leaders indicated: "On the basis of a study involving our general fund envelopes, it was noted that 30 per cent of the membership contributed approximately 75 per cent of the total." Secondly, many of the strongest contributors are older members:

> It is not easy to be optimistic when it is noted that there are 185 members, or 50 per cent of the membership, in an age bracket averaging 63 years. The general fund contributions from this group amount to 61.1 per cent. Many of these members are well advanced in years and will soon retire from work. This will further reduce income. Thus we are confronted with two factors: (1) the passage

of time; and (2) the high concentration of contribution in a small group of members.

Ordinarily the professional staff of the church consists of one pastor and a school faculty of a principal and three teachers. During the time of the study, the pastor accepted a call and left before an interview could be arranged. Thus we will not be able to evaluate his position in the congregation. Significant, however, seemed to be the evaluation of the congregation's future by a group of lay leaders:

> The various conditions can be overcome by the work of the Holy Spirit in the members and the servants of the Lord. A defeatist attitude is not part of a congregation composed of individuals possessing less than average worldly goods, who were able within the past decade, through the blessing of God, to build and pay for a new building and raise a total of almost one-half million dollars for all church purposes. This same zeal and love for the church and God's blessing will overcome the difficult days of the future.

Calvary Church

Calvary Church began as a branch of Hope Church (one of our Type B churches) in 1868. In that same year ground was purchased on the near south side of the city. The church and school remain on that site. The original building (a combination church-parsonage-school) was razed in 1895 to permit the erection of the present school building. A red brick church was built in 1868. With some remodeling and redecorating done in 1953, this building still serves the congregation.

From the scanty records available, it appears that the congregation was never large. Formed originally

in the center of a large German community, the neighborhood in recent years has experienced the invasion of various ethnic and racial groups. When the church celebrated its 65th anniversary in 1933, it numbered 325 communicants. Since then the numbers have decreased until in 1958 the church served only 201 communicants and 290 baptized members. In the ten years prior to the study, the church lost steadily each year--declining from 348 to the present 201 members.

The area is densely populated. The housing facilities are largely four-family flats. The median value of the owner-occupied dwellings was $7,835.00. Only 27 per cent of the dwellings were owner-occupied. The social rank of the neighborhood was 27; the urbanization rate 51; and the segregation index 61.

A. Membership. In earlier years Calvary had experienced some dispersal of its membership. By 1958 slightly more than one-third of the congregation lived in the immediate area of the church. The consistency of the pattern of residences in the next three zones is noticeable. There are, then, few members who live five miles or more from the church. The pastor voiced the community's general reaction of some years before when he indicated that the area no longer was a desirable place in which to live. Those who could afford to do so began a series of moves to the west of the church. In spite of these moves, some members have remained extremely loyal to Calvary congregation. In talking

with the pastor, one is surprised at how many times "life-long" members are mentioned. The change can be seen in the Sunday School. The older members obviously have no children living at home. Thus 73 per cent of the Sunday School pupils are recruited from the immediate area; only one pupil comes from beyond two miles from the church. The parish school is small, with only 44 pupils. However, it is a powerful influence in the parish. All but one of the students live within one mile of the church.

TABLE 82

DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNICANT, SUNDAY SCHOOL AND DAY SCHOOL MEMBERS AT CALVARY CHURCH

Distance	Church Members	Per Cent	Sun. School Members	Per Cent	Day School Members	Per Cent
1/2 mile or less	72	35.8	82	73.2	35	79.5
1/2 to 1 mile	39	19.4	17	15.2	8	18.2
1 to 2 miles	38	18.9	12	10.7	1	2.3
2 to 5 miles	34	16.9	1	0.9	. .	. .
5 miles and over	18	9.0	. .	. .	. .	. .
Total	201	100.0	112	100.0	44	100.0

The congregation reflects its neighborhood occupationally. The largest segment of workers in both church and community are factory workers. The second largest group is made up of clerical workers. The church is

slightly over-represented in professional and clerical workers. It is slightly under-represented among service workers and laborers. A total of 47.6 per cent of the congregation is engaged in white-collar occupations.

TABLE 83

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF CALVARY COMMUNICANTS IN COMPARISON WITH THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Occupational Group	Calvary		Neighborhood		Percentage Difference
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Professional	13	12.4	684	9.2	+ 3.2
Proprietors	8	7.6	446	6.0	+ 1.6
Clerical	25	23.8	1389	18.7	+ 5.1
Sales Workers	4	3.8	436	5.9	- 2.1
Craftsmen	14	13.3	923	12.5	+ 0.8
Operatives	27	25.7	1872	25.2	+ 0.5
Domestics	1	1.0	117	1.6	- 0.6
Service Workers	7	6.7	885	11.9	- 5.2
Laborers	6	5.7	675	9.0	- 3.3

The age-sex pyramid of the congregation is characterized by a paucity of young people between the ages of 15 and 24 years, a heavier concentration of women above the age of 25 years, and by a large child population. The median age of the male members was 21.4 years; 30.2 years for the females; and 27.5 years for the entire congregation. There was a basic sex imbalance, with 61 per cent of the congregation being female and 39 per cent male. In contrast, the neighborhood was slightly older: males 31.8 years, females 33.1

years, and 32.5 years for the total population. The child population was smaller and the basic imbalance of women to men was not as great--54 per cent female to 46 per cent male.

TABLE 84

AGE-SEX BREAK-DOWN FOR
CALVARY CHURCH AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD
BY PERCENTAGES

Age Group	Calvary		Neighborhood	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
65 & over . . .	2.7	6.4	3.7	5.6
55-64	4.1	8.0	4.7	5.2
45-54	1.6	4.8	5.5	6.8
35-44	7.2	7.5	6.7	7.7
25-34	2.9	7.8	8.4	9.0
20-24	1.9	2.9	4.5	5.3
15-19	1.3	1.9	2.7	3.5
10-14	4.2	5.6	2.5	2.7
5-9	8.4	7.8	3.0	4.6
0-4	5.3	8.3	4.6	4.6
Total . . .	39.0	61.0	46.4	53.6

B. Recruitment and Community Contact. In recent years the number of new members recruited at Calvary Church has dropped considerably. During the five-year period from 1949 to 1953, they averaged 21 new members per year. In the next five-year period from 1954 to 1958 they gained less than 14 new members per year. During the year of the study, for example, the church received only one transfer, and the confirmands numbered six adults and two children. Calvary Church had the

lowest gross gain rate among the survey churches, with a rate of .039. Its mission gain rate of .027 was stronger, although still below average.

Its *in mundum* index is surprisingly high, the highest of all the churches in the Types C and D categories. The explanation lies in the pastor himself, who some years before began some formal study in order to better equip himself to meet the transitional zone ministry. Thus the church reached out into the community through its Mothers' Club connected with the day school. The pastor was extremely active in working with the city planning commission, cooperative planning with other churches, and in contact with the various welfare agencies in his area.

The parish school is of great importance as a recruitment agency, for it draws some 65 per cent of its pupils from unchurched homes. Many adult members have been gained as a result of this initial contact. Because of limited personnel and finances, the school was closed for several years prior to 1954. In the past five years it has become, in the estimation of the congregational leaders, the most effective parish educational agency and an important means of contacting and serving the community.

C. *Ritual Participation*. The congregation's attendance at Sunday morning worship ranked first among the Type D churches, which was above average for all

the churches. In spite of a decreasing membership, the number of people attending church has remained constant. Since the arrival of the present pastor six years prior to the study, the attendance has improved slightly. He felt that the people have been responding because they know he is committed to stay at this congregation and serve them.

Calvary's rate of communion participation of 4.0 was just below average. In evaluating the attendance, the pastor felt that it was "rather poor and needs much improvement." In speaking of the particular strengths of his parish, the pastor said:

> There is great loyalty. The people really take part in the work of the church, but they need leadership and guidance. The membership is dedicated and they follow suggestions from the pastor very willingly. The big problem is to involve more of the people in the on-going work of the church.

D. Non-Ritual Participation. The church sponsored only five organizations. They were the customary women's group, couples' club, youth society, junior choir and a mothers' club. Exactly half of the total membership took part in these activities. The location of the church with its resulting type of membership heavily influenced this factor. Throughout the interview the pastor continued to emphasize that "lack of leadership in the congregation slows up the work to a great degree." The pastor was somewhat critical of the spiritual function of some of the organizations:

> At one time the organizations may have been good, but they fail in conveying a spiritual significance.

> When I came, I felt that some of them were a complete waste of time. If there is a lack of spiritual emphasis in any organization, then you might as well not have the organization exist.

E. Internal Administration. The pastor summarized three problems as central in the program of the church: (1) a lack of men to assume leadership, (2) a lack of younger men with fresh ideas and enthusiasm, and (3) the fact that only 15 to 20 per cent of the membership was active in the work of the church. Occupationally the leaders represented the following groups: one skilled workman, one white-collar worker, one semi-skilled worker, and several common laborers. Apparently the few professional men in the congregation did not serve as leaders. Yet the pastor emphasized the fact that the men work hard, cooperate well with one another and with him, are loyal and dependable, and will see a project through to the end. "They're dedicated men," the pastor said. "They work together well and are willing to learn and to do anything I suggest to them."

There was an interesting discrepancy between the impression which the pastor had concerning where the members of the church council lived and where in fact they did live in terms of distance from the church. The pastor had commented: "They all live within one mile of the church." Actually only one of the eight members lived within one mile of the church; three lived three miles or more from the church. Perhaps their faithfulness and concern with the church had minimized in the pastor's thinking the distances from which they came to church.

Using financial gifts as an index, the effectiveness of institutional administration indicates a strong church. Giving was above average for Types B, C and D churches. The amounts which they contributed to benevolences, however, were proportionately lower.

In summary, the pastor at Calvary Church said:

> The leaders have worked with me since I am here and they have got to know me better. Offices are rotated more now, but it is very difficult to fill our slate at election time. We lack that 'certain caliber' of leadership. Generally speaking, this is a better council than five years ago.

F. Pastoral Leadership. The pastor of Calvary Church was a man in his very early forties who had come six years before from Kansas where he served two small churches. He felt that he had not been given a true picture of the church and its situation when the call was extended. He indicates a feeling of inadequacy and lack of qualifications for this particular type of ministry. One judges that this reaction has led to a much clearer realization of the specialized nature of the ministry in a transitional zone and the need for a creative program that might have been here had a pastor seen this simply as another "average middle-class" parish.

The minister attempts to maintain close contact with his people through home calling. He said that his preaching reaches the majority, but a person-to-person contact still is the best way of coming to know the people and their problems and dislikes. In exerting direct leadership he indicated that:

> On physical matters I seldom voice my opinion because I feel that the men have a better knowledge of it than I have. On spiritual matters they always ask my opinion first.

During the period of the study, one sensed that the willingness of a congregation to follow its pastor in racial integration was a useful check on the effectiveness of its pastoral leadership. The present leadership at Calvary was ready to accept Negroes, although they anticipated "some strong opposition" on the part of some of the members. When the local committee summarized their conclusions on the basis of the parish data which they had gathered, they suggested as their second greatest need: "More canvassing within the neighborhood of the church--especially among the colored residents." In a quiet fashion the pastor had been very effective in beginning to stabilize a trying situation and in offering the level of leadership needed.

Bethlehem Church

Bethlehem Church is the mother church of St. Louis Lutheranism. The congregation was founded in 1839. Its early history is linked with that of the founding and early growth of the denomination. Its early pastors were the original leaders of the denomination. Bethlehem has declined radically from its former days of glory, for it is now a small struggling congregation in the midst of a heavily transitional zone.

The church, originally built in 1865 and rebuilt in 1897, still serves as the center for worship

and meetings. The building seats 1,000 worshipers, but now is rarely more than one-quarter filled. The social rank of the neighborhood was 12 in 1955, the lowest of any of the communities represented. Its urbanization rate of 56 was quite high. Although there are various ethnic groups living in the community, there are few Negroes; its segregation index was only 2. Only 11 per cent of the dwellings are owner-occupied; their median value was $5,044.00.

In order to see the rate of decline more clearly, we extended our survey back to 1945--a period of thirteen years. In this period the communicant membership dropped from 631 members to 373. While the church and day school have experienced a steady decline, the Sunday School has known an erratic enrollment so that it is serving a larger number now than it was in 1945.

Table 85 presents a complete summary of Bethlehem's baptized, communicant, Sunday School and day school membership from 1945 through 1958.

TABLE 85

BAPTIZED, COMMUNICANT, SUNDAY SCHOOL AND DAY SCHOOL MEMBERSHIP OF BETHLEHEM CHURCH 1945-1958

Year	Baptized Members	Communicant Members	Sunday School Members	Day School Members
1945	960	631	141	233
1946	830	590	214	131
1947	890	602	210	141
1948	896	604	185	131
1949	898	590	198	118
1950	895	586	203	121
1951	860	570	183	121
1952	803	525	179	106
1953	720	475	154	89
1954	706	460	185	88
1955	650	450	185	88
1956	520	392	191	94
1957	520	440	191	95
1958	606	373	175	90

A. Membership. Bethlehem is atypical in its residential pattern. We observed a steadily increasing concentration of membership about the church as we moved to Types C and D churches. The oldest church in the most depressed area reverses this trend. Bethlehem had only 18 per cent of its membership living within a half-mile of the church. The major concentration of members lived in the one-to-two-miles zone. One-third of its membership lived more than two miles from the church. This did not hold true for the Sunday School or day school. In each case in the educational agencies, approximately 60 per cent lived in the immediate area of the church. Only 7 per cent came from beyond two

miles. It appears that in Bethlehem Church we see an advanced form of the dispersal which is in process in most of the churches in areas of lower social rank. As the neighborhood declines, an increasing number of members move from the area. Some of these people retain their membership; the greater number transfer. If the church is not pursuing a policy of vigorously trying to recruit new members from the immediate neighborhood, this is the pattern which results. In speaking of membership, the pastor said: "Yes, you still have some staunch, loyal members who come back to Bethlehem, but their children will not have this loyalty."

TABLE 86

DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNICANT, SUNDAY SCHOOL AND DAY SCHOOL MEMBERS AT BETHLEHEM CHURCH

Distance	Church Members	Per Cent	Sun. School Members	Per Cent	Day School Members	Per Cent
1/2 mile or less	67	18.0	102	59.3	40	60.6
1/2 to 1 mile	72	19.3	43	25.0	19	28.8
1 to 2 miles	106	28.4	15	8.7	4	6.1
2 to 5 miles	81	21.7	12	7.0	3	4.5
5 miles and over	47	12.6	. .	. .	. .	. .
Total	283	100.0	172	100.0	66	100.0

Occupationally the neighborhood about Bethlehem Church was composed heavily of factory workers; the next

largest group was comprised of clerical workers. Although the church did not have as great a proportion of factory workers, it was the largest category within the congregation. The number of clerical workers was slightly larger than that found in the community. The church did not reflect its community accurately in having a larger number of professionals and service workers than would have been expected. In spite of these differences, and although the membership was drawn from a greater distance, it still reflected quite accurately the type of person found in the neighborhood. In many ways the pastor felt that the church did not reflect the general community: "People with ambition have left the community and this congregation. If people have some industry, they don't have to be like this."

TABLE 87

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF BETHLEHEM COMMUNICANTS IN COMPARISON WITH ITS NEIGHBORHOOD

Occupational Group	Bethlehem		Neighborhood		Percentage Difference
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Professional	18	10.0	598	3.0	+ 7.0
Proprietors	5	2.8	. .	. .	+ 2.8
Clerical	44	24.4	3018	18.0	+10.8
Sales Workers	8	4.4			
Craftsmen	20	11.1	2535	15.6	- 4.5
Operatives	60	33.3	7264	42.1	- 7.8
Domestics	. .	. .	150	0.8	- 0.8
Service Workers	15	8.4	1726	9.5	- 1.1
Laborers	10	5.6	1902	11.0	- 5.4

Bethlehem was composed of a very young congregation at the time of the study. The median age of males was 18.7 years; the comparable figure for females was 20.0 years; and the median age of the entire congregation was 19.4 years. The proportion of women to men was high--61 to 39. The decade of years most heavily filled were the categories from 5 to 15 years; approximately 37 per cent of the membership fell into this age group. There also was a slightly larger number of older women who were 65 years of age or over. In contrast the neighborhood was older, with both sexes averaging 28 years. The sex break-down showed a better balance--51 per cent women to 49 per cent men. The child population was not unusually large, nor was there an appreciable number of older people in the area.

TABLE 88

AGE-SEX BREAK-DOWN FOR
BETHLEHEM CHURCH AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD
BY PERCENTAGES

Age Group	Bethlehem		Neighborhood	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
65 & over . . .	2.8	7.4	1.7	2.0
55-64	3.9	4.6	4.4	4.6
45-54	3.6	4.6	5.7	5.5
35-44	3.7	5.6	7.3	7.3
25-34	3.6	6.0	8.7	8.8
20-24	1.5	2.0	4.5	5.5
15-19	2.3	2.8	3.4	4.1
10-14	7.4	11.0	3.5	3.6
5-9	7.5	11.0	4.1	4.1
0-4	2.7	5.7	5.7	5.5
Total . .	39.3	60.7	49.0	51.0

B. Recruitment and Community Contact. Bethlehem and Calvary (another of the Type D churches) ranked at the bottom of the gross gain index. Its mission gain index of .027 also was low. For the past ten years Bethlehem has averaged 20 new members per year. With the exception of 1955, when the church received only 8 new members, the figures show a remarkable consistency. Virtually all of these accessions came either through adult or junior confirmation. The church receives very few transfers; in a ten-year period it has averaged only one transfer per year.

Bethlehem's in mundum rating ranked last among the seventeen churches surveyed. It had no service program directed toward the community. While the young pastor had not been at this church very long, thus far at least he had taken no active part in community oriented organizations. In the interview when a neighboring church was referred to and a settlement house within the greater neighborhood was mentioned, he displayed no knowledge of these agencies. He indicated that the principal agencies for recruitment within the last few years were the day school and Sunday School. The church reported no organized evangelism program.

C. Ritual Participation. The congregation's rate of attendance of 37.9 fell exactly at the average of Type D churches--which in turn was stronger than the attendance found in Types B and C churches. Its rate of communion reception of 4.1 was average. The

pastor felt that for too many people, interest in the church and participation in its program ended with worship attendance. He spoke of the apathy, for example, over against the neighborhood. He said, "They seem to react simply, 'I'm going to church!'"

D. Non-Ritual Participation. The church sponsored eight organizations. Approximately 40 per cent of the membership participated in the organizations. The congregation was average for the Type D churches, but this category in turn ranked at the bottom of the four groups in non-ritual participation. In general, the church seemed to be carrying out no special type of program to serve the special needs of the people within the church or the community. It had the usual women's society, youth groups, and parent-teachers league. These gave the impression of being conventional programs rather than attempts to meet specific problems or needs arising in the area.

E. Internal Administration. Thirty-two different people held leadership positions within the church; this amounted to 11 per cent of the active communicant membership. As would be expected from the residential distribution pattern examined earlier, relatively few lived close to the church. Of the seven council members, none lived within one mile of the church. Of the six elders, only two lived within one mile.

The members contributed an average of $93.56 toward its annual budget of $39,832.00. This was below

the average contributed by members of churches in other areas. As noted in the case of other churches, even while the membership has been declining for a period of ten years, the level of current receipts has risen steadily during the same interval.

F. Pastoral Leadership. Approximately two years before the time of the study, an older pastor who had served the church for many years died suddenly. A year later a young minister, 29 years of age, accepted the call to the congregation. He felt particularly sympathetic to the area because of his own rearing in a large family during the depression years:

> I went to Bethlehem because of the challenge. I saw that something had to be done. I felt that coming from such a background, I could help these people. In a sense I know what they are going through. I thought I would have sympathy. Coming from a rough neighborhood, I didn't think too much would shock me.

This pastor believes that thus far his ministry has been effective. He indicated a personal commitment to Bethlehem to work with it in its present situation. He felt that he would continue to serve as long as the congregation would aid him. Realistically he indicated that no pastor can carry on alone an effective ministry in a transition area. Should he be unable to serve effectively, he said, he would accept a call away.

In spite of his personal background in such an area, one senses his lack of awareness of the community structure and of the deeper level of need. He was not familiar with the welfare agencies serving the area.

He did not have a clear picture of the type of ethnic groups living in the area. Nothing was being done to serve the unique problems occasioned by mobility, depersonalization, lack of identification with others, personal maladjustment and the like.

At best Bethlehem Church is attempting to serve some of the obvious surface difficulties. For example, the pastor indicated that recently the young married couples' group had been bringing canned foods to help the poor in the area. He wanted to build up a small "stock pile, so we won't have to turn them down cold every time." Asked about the future of the church, he said: "I think we should stay, but I can't fight the battle by myself."

Profile of Type D Churches

We have categorized churches located in areas of low social rank and high urbanization as Type D churches. We shall summarize the features which such churches seem to have in common on the basis of their ecological setting.

A. Membership. Thus far we have observed an increasing proportion of the membership located in the first circle of residence as we moved toward churches with lower social rank. Among the Type D churches we find the heaviest concentration of membership in the first half-mile zone. The proportion is slightly less, however, than that found among the Type C churches.

There apparently is no simple linear equation between residential concentration and our institutional typology. In comparing the pattern in Types C and D churches, it appears that if the adjoining census tracts toward which the population is moving are slightly better than the first tract, the spread of institutional members forms the type of pattern found in Type D churches. If, however, the adjoining tracts are blighted, then the population tends to jump the intervening circles and move to a distance of two miles or more from the original tract. This appears to have been the Type C pattern, which was slightly bi-polar. In Tables 89 and 90 we find a close correspondence of figures between the numerical totals and the percentages of membership in Type D churches.

TABLE 89

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNICANT MEMBERS IN TYPE D CHURCHES BY NUMERIC TOTALS

Church	Distance in Miles from Church				
	1/2 mile or less	1/2 to 1 mile	1 to 2 miles	2 to 5 miles	5 miles & over
Zion	225	119	134	30	16
Bethany	129	91	23	40	59
Calvary	72	39	38	34	18
Bethlehem	67	72	106	81	47
Total	493	321	301	185	140
Per Cent of Total	34.2	22.3	20.9	12.8	9.8

TABLE 90

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNICANT MEMBERS IN TYPE D CHURCHES BY PERCENTAGES

Church	Distance in Miles from Church				
	1/2 mile or less	1/2 to 1 mile	1 to 2 miles	2 to 5 miles	5 miles & over
Zion	43.1	22.7	25.3	5.7	3.2
Bethany	37.7	26.6	6.7	11.7	17.3
Calvary	35.8	19.4	18.9	16.9	9.0
Bethlehem	18.0	19.3	28.4	21.7	12.6
Average	33.7	22.1	18.9	14.0	10.5

A criticism of the basic ecological hypothesis becomes apparent when Zion Church is viewed over against the remaining Type D churches. It was noted that Zion is a church of relatively high social rank, made up predominantly of professional people. Since the church is composed of Negroes and is located in a heavily Negro tract, it falls into the Type D category. This has created a blur in the picture of the normal Type D church, which is composed heavily of operatives and clerical workers. Excluding Zion, we find that 27.7 per cent of the workers are operatives and 27.8 per cent are clerical workers. Only 8.8 per cent in the remaining three churches are professionals. Table 91 must be read in the light of this caution.

TABLE 91

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF MEMBERS
OF TYPE D CHURCHES BY PERCENTAGES

Church	Professional	Proprietor	Clerical	Sales Workers	Craftsmen	Operatives	Domestics	Service Workers	Laborers
Zion	38.2	3.6	25.6	1.0	7.9	. .	3.6	18.8	1.3
Bethany	4.2	5.9	35.3	7.6	9.3	24.2	0.8	7.2	5.5
Calvary	12.4	7.6	23.8	3.8	13.3	25.7	1.0	6.7	5.7
Bethlehem	10.0	2.8	24.4	4.4	11.1	33.3	. .	8.4	5.6
Average	16.2	4.9	27.3	4.2	10.4	20.8	1.4	10.3	4.5

Thus far no clear distinction has emerged among the churches regarding the age of its membership. While Types A, B and C churches averaged 30 years, the Type D membership was significantly younger with an average median age of 25.9 years. The figures are based on the three congregations for which we had complete information.

TABLE 92

MEDIAN AGE OF BAPTIZED MEMBERS
IN TYPE D CHURCHES

	Bethany	Calvary	Bethlehem	Average
Male	26.5	21.4	18.7	22.2
Female	34.0	30.2	20.0	28.1
Total	31.0	27.5	19.4	25.9

The Type D churches had a slightly greater imbalance between men and women. In round figures the ratio of women to men was 60 to 40. Churches with the highest degree of urbanization (Types B and D) had the greater percentage of women in the membership of the congregations.

TABLE 93

RELATIVE PERCENTAGES OF MALE AND FEMALE MEMBERS IN TYPE D CHURCHES

	Zion	Calvary	Bethlehem	Bethany	Average
Male	40.2	39.0	39.3	42.0	40.3
Female	59.8	61.0	60.7	57.0	59.7

B. Recruitment and Community Contact. Type D churches received the smallest number of new members per year. Their gross gain index of .062 was significantly below the over-all average of .091. This category of churches ranked last. It is significant that the two churches which did measurably better among the Type D group were the congregations with the higher social rank. The other half of the pattern also was quite clear. These churches ranked above average in the proportion of their recruitment which drew members directly from the community as converts. Type D churches scored .039, above Types A and B.

Type D churches were strong in the number of activities directed toward the community. Actually there was a tremendous variation among the four churches, for both the lowest and highest scores were found in this classification. The average in mundum index score was 19.0.

C. Ritual Participation. Along with Type A churches, Type D had a strong rate of worship attendance. The rate of communion attendance in the Type D churches also ranked second among the survey churches.

D. Non-Ritual Participation. Type D churches ranked last, both in the number of organizations sponsored and in the degree to which the membership participated in them.

E. Internal Administration. The Type D churches ranked last in the percentage of funds which they gave to benevolences, and second-last in their per capita giving. The lay leaders were described as loyal and willing to follow; but with the exception of Zion Church (which had a high social rank), the leaders were men with no advanced formal education and who exercised little leadership in their daily work.

Having surveyed in detail the four categories of churches, we return to the questions posed at the beginning of our study as we formulate our conclusions.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Our task in this study is twofold: (1) to determine to what extent ecological methods and findings designed primarily to describe populations could be applied to institutions, and (2) to develop a typology of urban churches which will sort them in a meaningful fashion according to their ecological location.

We proposed to investigate the influence of selected socio-economic factors upon the function of religious institutions. Using the Shevky-Williams typology of social rank, urbanization and segregation, we proceeded to develop a fourfold institutional type:

Type A: Located in areas of high social rank and low urbanization.

Type B: Located in areas of high social rank and high urbanization.

Type C: Located in areas of low social rank and low urbanization.

Type D: Located in areas of low social rank and high urbanization.

Using Malinowski's theory of organizational analysis, we developed six indices by which to measure how well the institutions were discharging their

institutionally accepted goals: (1) Recruitment, (2) Membership, (3) Ritual Participation, (4) Non-Ritual Participation, (5) Internal Administration, and (6) In Mundum.

The study was conducted with seventeen churches in the metropolitan area of St. Louis. All of the congregations were members of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. At least four churches were located in each of the four types of areas described. In size they ranged from 180 to 1,400 communicant members. The data was gathered during the spring of 1959.

In answer to our first query regarding an application of ecological data to studies of institutions, we would suggest extreme caution in using the data for purposes of prediction. The unqualified use of census tract data, for example, in many pieces of action-directed research demands reinvestigation. The universe of the institution is not the same as that of the neighborhood.

Among our survey churches only 29.8 per cent of the membership lived within a half-mile of the church. Frequently the people were selectively drawn to the church and did not represent the community in age, sex and occupations. It would appear that this caution is more necessary in the study of churches with a strong confessional emphasis than in a more neighborhood-centered Protestant church.

To an extent we must agree with the initial judgment of Douglass when he said that no valid classification of city churches according to environment is possible. Differences in size, success in recruitment, residential distribution, social class, ritual participation, non-ritual participation, and internal administration are present. However, a qualified classification can be made. There are a number of significant points at which the differences between the types of churches were greater than the differences between those within one ecological area.

A. Membership. A differing pattern of residential distribution emerged among the four types of churches.

TABLE 94

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNICANT MEMBERS IN THE FOUR TYPES OF CHURCHES BY PERCENTAGES

Classification of Church	Distance in Miles from Church				
	1/2 mile or less	1/2 to 1 mile	1 to 2 miles	2 to 5 miles	5 miles & over
Type A	14.9	24.9	34.7	19.9	5.3
Type B	28.5	17.1	21.6	20.6	12.1
Type C	36.3	10.0	11.3	23.3	19.0
Type D	34.2	22.3	20.9	12.8	9.8

In general one finds that as a neighborhood decreases in social rank and increases in urbanization,

fewer people will travel an extended distance to attend a church in this area. It draws a greater percentage of people from its immediate neighborhood. A further refinement is suggested in a comparison of Types C and D churches. When the surrounding census tracts in the direction toward which the population is moving are of higher social class and do not contain a high level of other ethnic or racial groups, the people appear to move shorter distances and tend to retain their membership. When these conditions are not present and the surrounding area is blighted and contains heavy concentrations of non-whites, then people tend to move greater distances. This develops a bi-polar type of residential pattern for the Type C church, but one of gradually declining numbers among the Type D churches.

Pronounced differences also are apparent in the occupational categories represented in the four types of churches. Type A churches are composed primarily of managerial and professional families. Type B churches have fewer professionals, but an increase in the number of clerical workers and craftsmen. In Type C churches both of these categories grow even larger. Clerical workers and operatives are dominant in the Type D churches.

Table 95 presents a summary of the occupational categories of the members of the four types of churches.

TABLE 95

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF MEMBERS
IN THE FOUR TYPES OF CHURCHES
BY PERCENTAGES

Classification of Church	Professional and Managers	Clerical and Sales Workers	Craftsmen	Operatives	Domestics	Service Workers	Laborers
Type A	43.8	28.9	11.4	8.8	0.8	2.5	2.1
Type B	20.1	32.3	17.8	15.5	2.2	7.4	4.3
Type C	12.6	34.5	24.0	15.1	1.0	6.9	5.0
Type D	21.1	31.5	10.4	20.8	1.4	10.3	4.5

We had expected to find significant differences in median age to become apparent in the various ecological areas. Although there were great differences among the various churches, no significant differences were found among the four types. Only Type D [illegible] younger membership. In sex break-down the churches with the highest degree of urbanization (Types B and D) had the greatest percentages of women. As an aid to visualizing these two features, we present the composite age-sex pyramid for each of the four types of churches. Here differences obscured in the median ages come into sharper focus. The pattern for each type is quite distinct.

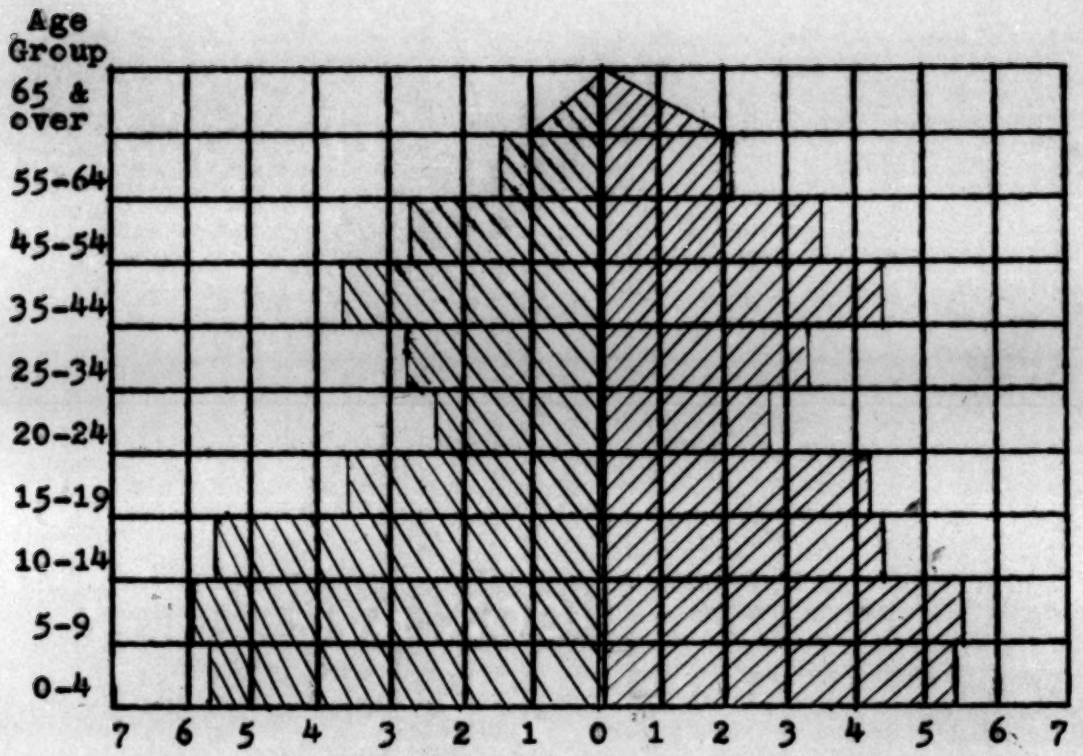

Fig. 4.--Age-Sex Pyramid of Type A Churches

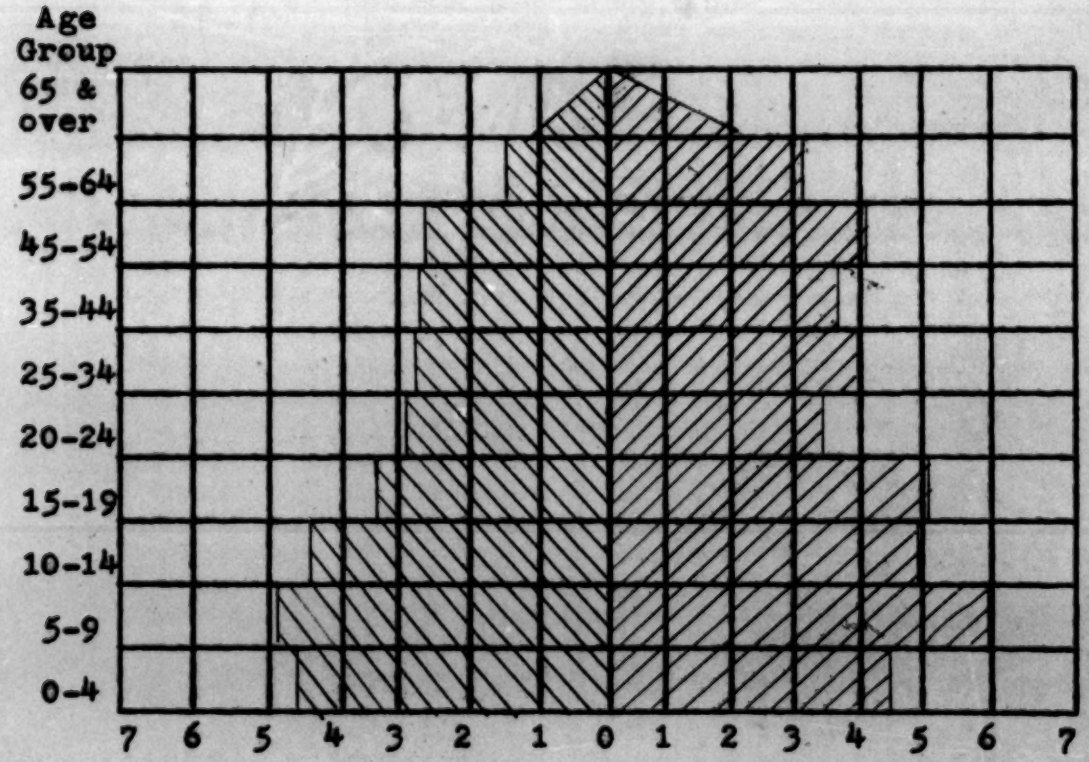

Fig. 5.--Age-Sex Pyramid of Type B Churches

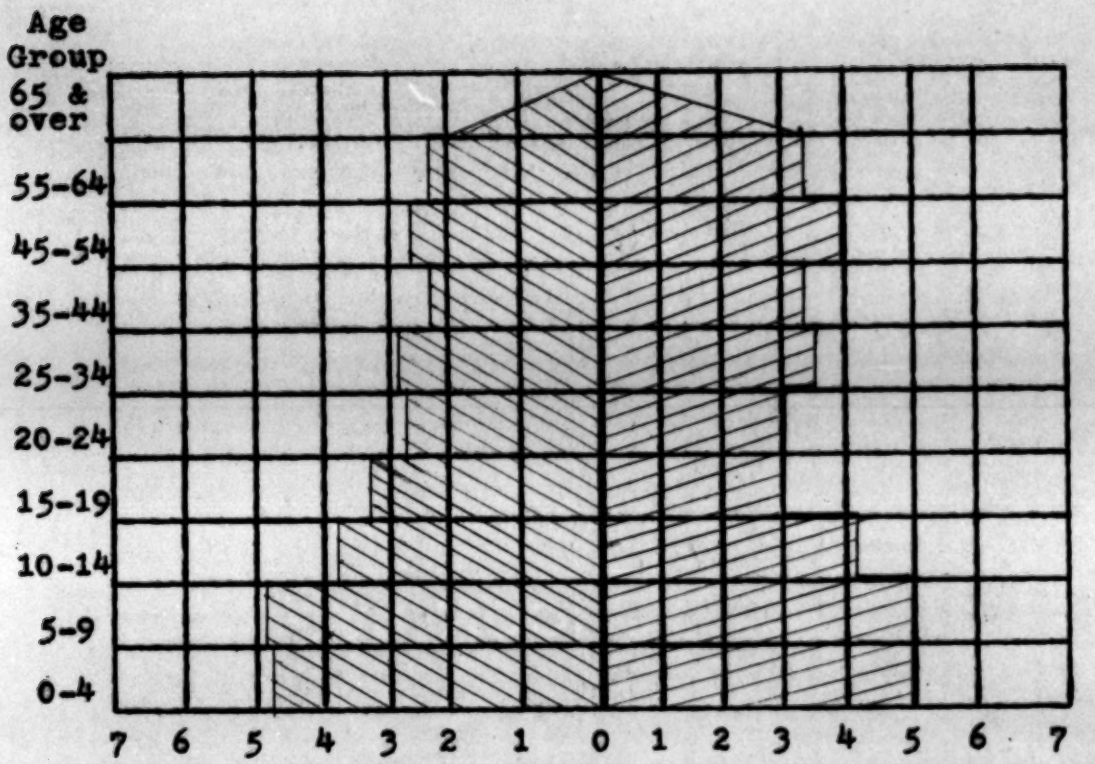

Fig. 6.--Age-Sex Pyramid of Type C Churches

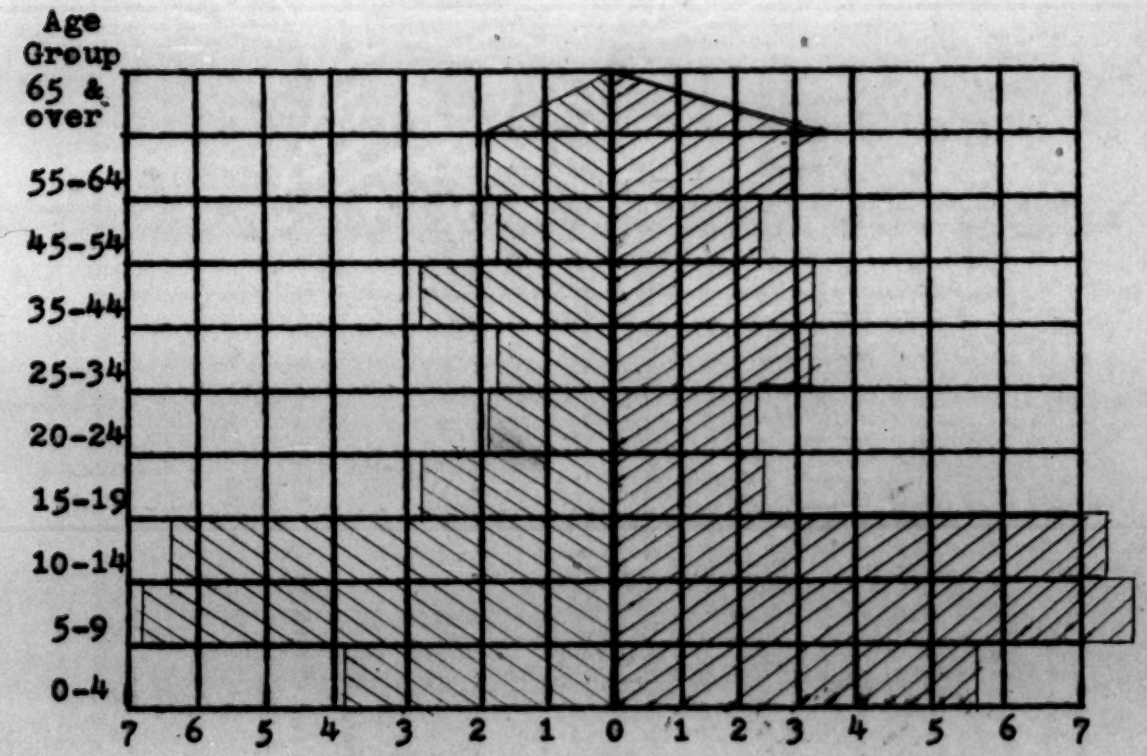

Fig. 7.--Age-Sex Pyramid for Type D Churches

B. Recruitment and Community Contact. The two categories of churches with the lowest degree of urbanization (Types A and C) had the highest gross gain indices. These churches received the largest number of new members per year. When we asked, however, which churches were most effective in winning new members from the neighborhood as converts, the pattern reversed. The two sets of churches in the neighborhoods representing the lowest social rank recruited more new members than did the churches in the more favored neighborhoods. The latter churches received more of their members through incoming transfers of Lutherans moving into their neighborhoods.

The number of activities directed toward the community by way of programs or counseling referrals was not ecologically determined. Here the insight and sensitivity of the leadership, particularly of the pastor, seemed most decisive. Thus Type A churches ranked first, but Type D ranked second. In general, these churches reflected a reserve regarding community contacts. If the work was not directly related to the central spiritual task of the church, many congregations were cautious about entering into the activity.

C. Ritual Participation. Using worship attendance and reception of Holy Communion as measures for ritual participation, Type A churches ranked significantly above the others. As noted earlier, in the first

ten indices the Type A churches ranked either in first or last place; the factor correlated either positively or negatively with high social rank and low urbanization. While Types C and D churches scored higher in rate of participation in Holy Communion, the great variation among the individual congregations supports the thesis that the non-ecological factor of an added sacramental emphasis on the part of the pastor was the decisive element.

D. Non-Ritual Participation. This dimension was measured by the number of congregationally-sponsored organizations, the degree of membership participation in them, and the rate of attendance in the Sunday School. In the first two categories a clear ranking of 1-2-3-4 emerged. Type A churches had the largest number of organizations and the highest rate of membership participation. Type D churches had the fewest organizations and the lowest rate of participation. No clear pattern emerged for the Sunday School, although Type A churches again ranked first. The two groups of churches in areas of lowest urbanization ranked highest.

E. Internal Administration. As objective measures of internal administration, we used the average financial gift per communicant and the percentage of its total income used by the church for benevolences. We augmented these indices with a closer examination of the level of lay leadership, its reflection of the

general neighborhood, and an evaluation of effectiveness as judged by the pastors. The two sets of churches in the areas of highest social rank rated highest in the amount given by its membership. Types B and C churches ranked highest in the amount contributed to benevolences. This latter measure must be used with caution because the size of the church and the presence of a day school radically affected the benevolence pattern. As an accurate measure, it was suspect. This was the only one of the thirteen measures used which did not correlate with at least three of the remaining factors.

F. Pastoral Leadership. From the early part of the study it became apparent that along with the purely ecological factors which were operative, the personality, outlook and leadership qualities of the pastor involved were extremely significant. There was no device included in the study by which this could be measured quantitatively. Qualitatively it emerged in the interviews. The men varied greatly in their knowledge of the internal operation of their churches and the respective neighborhoods. They varied in the image which they used to measure the effectiveness of their own ministry and the success of their church. They varied in the directness with which they exercised leadership. There was variation in the extent to which theory was expressed in program. For example, every pastor expressed the belief that the congregation owed a responsibility to its

immediate neighborhood; yet given churches existed in virtual isolation from their immediate communities. These differences were not a function of the age of the pastor or the length of his service at a given parish. To an extent they were not a function of any basic difference of theological outlook. They appeared to be dependent upon the pastor's conception of the function of the local church and his effectiveness in communicating this insight to the leadership group within his parish.

With these qualifications our basic hypothesis was supported: The decrease in the social rank of a neighborhood, accompanied by an increase in its degree of urbanization and segregation, will have a dysfunctional effect upon a local institution. Type A churches ranked first in gross gains, percentage of white-collar workers, had the best balance of men and women, had the highest proportion of worship attendance, the largest number of organizations, the highest rate of participation in organizations, the highest attendance record in Sunday School, and the greatest per capita giving. Conversely, Type D churches ranked lowest in gross gain rate, had a great imbalance of women to men, fewest number of parish organizations, lowest congregational participation in the organizations, and the smallest proportion of money used for benevolences.

Further research might be directed into two areas: First, on the basis of the correlations, a

refinement of the basic instrument would be possible. Some of the items dealt with qualitatively in the body of the text might be reduced to a more concise quantitative measure. Secondly, the role of the pastor as leader in the religious institution will demand further study. If churches can not be distinguished entirely on ecological grounds, can they be distinguished on the basis of types of pastoral leadership?

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David S. Schuller was born in Cleveland, Ohio, on June 8, 1926. He attended public schools in that city for his elementary and high school education.

He completed his junior college training at Concordia Collegiate Institute in Bronxville, New York, where he graduated as valedictorian. In September, 1945, he entered Concordia Theological Seminary in St. Louis where he continued his studies for the Lutheran ministry. In 1947 he received his Bachelor of Arts degree from that institution. He was graduated in June, 1950, with the Bachelor of Divinity degree.

The next year he was granted a teaching fellowship in the field of homiletics at Concordia Seminary. In June, 1951, he received the degree of Master of Sacred Theology. At that time he was ordained into the Lutheran ministry. He accepted a call to become the pastor of Luther Memorial Church, Richmond Heights, Missouri, where he served for five years.

Graduate work in sociology was conducted on a part-time basis from 1947 to 1955. This training was received at Washington University in St. Louis, with one summer semester at Columbia University in New York. He enrolled at St. Louis University in September, 1952, and received the Master of Arts degree in 1955.

Since 1956 he has served on the faculty of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, as assistant professor in the department of Practical Theology. He was married to Modelle Lucas of St. Louis on July 1, 1950. The couple has three children.